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THE  
ESSEX INSTITUTE  
HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXXVIII—1952

ISSUED QUARTERLY



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SALEM, MASS.

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# Essex Institute Historical Collections

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# RULES and ORDERS,

Agreed upon the Twenty-second Day of February, A. D. 1768. to be observed  
by the FIRE-CLUB at HAVERHILL, NEW-ENGLAND.

**I. THAT** if Fire shall happen to break out at *Haverhill*, where we dwell, we will be helpful (more especially) to each other for extinguishing the same, and in saving and taking the utmost Care of each others Goods, by conveying them to a Place of Security (at the Direction of the Owner if present) or otherwise according to the best of our Judgment, and secure them against Embezzlement.

**II. THAT** we will each of us provide and always keep ready, two good Bags of one Yard and three Quarters in length, and three Quarters of a Yard in breadth, with Strings at the Mouth, and two good Leather Buckets (the Buckets and Bags marked with the first Letter of the Owner's Christianity and the whole of his *Surname*) and keep them hanging in a convenient Place with the Bags in the Buckets for the Use of the Society:— And any Member failing in either of the above Respects shall pay to the Clerk the Sum of *three Shillings* for the Use of the Society.

**III. THAT** we will meet together at some convenient Place (by us or the Clerk appointed) on the first *Thursdays of April, July, October and January*, annually, at Six o'Clock in the Evening: And whosoever shall omit to come till after the List is called over which shall be at Seven o'Clock (excepting in *July* which shall be at half after Seven) shall pay a Fine of *four Pence*; and if he come not the whole Evening he shall pay his Club of what may be spent, and no Fine: And if the Clerk shall not attend by himself or Deputy at the Time for calling the List he shall pay *eight Pence*, and if absent the whole Evening he shall pay *one Shilling* beside his Club of what is spent; and the Club shall be sealed by Ten o'Clock in the Evening.

**IV. THAT** the Clerk with one of the Members in order as they stand on the List, shall the same Week before each Quarterly Meeting, go to the House of each Member, and view his Buckets and Bags, and give Notice of the Time and Place of the Meeting; and make a due Report thereof at the next Meeting; and if said Member shall neglect to attend the Clerk, after Notice given, he shall pay a Fine of *two Shillings*; and if the Clerk shall neglect his Duty in any of those Particulars, he shall pay a Fine of *two Shillings* for each, for the Use of the Society.

**V. THAT** a Moderator shall be chose at each Meeting, and a Clerk once a Year (by casting Lots among those who have not served in that Office or otherwise) whose Business shall be to keep the Society's Books, and a Record of all Fines and Disbursements: collect and keep all Fines and Money that shall be raised in the Society, and to pay Money by their Direction; and in Case of his Refusal to serve, he shall pay a Fine, of *six Shillings*; and the Clerk on extraordinary Occasions may depu- tee one (a Member of the Society) to act in his Room, he being accountable for him; and said Clerk shall, at the end of his Term, give up the Books, Accounts, Collections, and Money to his Successor in Office, and be allowed as may be Voted for collecting Money.

**VI. THAT** the Number of this Society shall not exceed Twenty-six Persons; and whoever shall neglect due Attendance three Meetings successively, when warned, (without sufficient Reason) or refuse to pay the Fines that are laid on him, shall cease to be a Member.

**VII. THAT** whoever shall be missing or neglect to give his Attendance at a Time of Fire (with his Buckets and Bags) to him or them of our Society that is most in Danger (except he gives a sufficient Reason) shall pay to the Clerk, for the Use of the Society, *three Shillings*.

**VIII. THAT** if any Member makes it appear that he has left his Buckets or Bags at any Fire, within one Month after the Loss, by a Report to the Clerk, the Society shall make him Allowance for the Loss.

**IX. THAT** each Person belonging to the Society shall be ever supplied with a printed Copy of these Articles, to be found by the Clerk, he paying *eight Pence* for his first, and *two Pence* for one afterward: And if he does not produce it to the Clerk at viewing his Buckets, &c. or produce it to him at each Meeting he shall pay to the Clerk *six Pence* for the Use of the Society.

**X. THAT** the Society shall have a Watch-Word to be altered at their Pleasure: Any Member not being able and ready to tell it when demanded by the Clerk shall pay *four Pence*; and if he divulges it to any Person not a Member he shall pay a Fine of *two Shillings* for the Use thereof.

**XI. THAT** no Person shall be admitted into the Society without the unanimous Vote of the Members in a Meeting: The deciding Differences, voting of Fines, raising a Fund, and giving Money to Sufferers, &c. shall be determined by the major Vote of the Society.

*James Allward  
Nathl. S. Sargeant  
Cornel. Smith  
James Arabian  
James Burbeck  
William Brewster  
Jonathan Whitcomb  
David Mayhew  
Isaac Bradington  
Brook Burdett  
John Copeland  
Cutting Mayhew  
James Osgood  
John White Jr.  
Edmund Moore  
Jonathan Bucke  
Benj. Rogers  
Thomas Pitt  
John Maltby  
Nathan Walker  
Richard Safford Hall*

## RULES OF THE FIRST HAVERHILL FIRE CLUB

Though this same blank was used for many years, these must be the names of the original members as some of these were gone a year or two later. It is a roll of the most prominent men in Haverhill, about 1770.

Only two or three men turned out to be Tories.

# ESSEX INSTITUTE

## HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

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VOL. LXXXVIII JANUARY, 1952

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No. 1

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JAMES DUNCAN OF HAVERHILL

PACK-PEDDLER, STOREKEEPER AND MERCHANT

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By JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS

---

It was probably in 1746, that a young man started out of Londonderry with a pack on his back to trade at the scattered farms that lay spaced well apart in the woods of southern New Hampshire. To the housewives who found it hard to go far from their homes, the visit of the pack-peddler was an event of the year. In the pack would be found needles and thread, pins, perhaps a few pairs of scissors, thimbles and a few gay handkerchiefs and scarfs to make the dull homespun gowns a little more festive for special occasions. The people were glad to give the visitor a night's lodging and make a few purchases to reward him for his trip. Around the big kitchen fire, he could retail a little news of the outside world. The Colonial troops had captured Louisburg and the French would not be so keen about sending raiders against the frontier towns. The people in Londonderry had just built a new meeting-house. A group of young people was moving over the hills to the new town of Peterborough and some were starting a new town to be called Antrim. He was going that way if his goods held out.

Almost all the people had cousins back in Londonderry and he could tell the news of who was keeping company with whom, whether the last baby was a boy or girl and if anybody had died recently. He picked up the local gossip as well as supplying his share and that would make conversation at his next stop.

James Duncan, this young peddler, was the youngest of eight children of George Duncan, all of whom were

born in the valley of the Bann at Ballymony in County Antrim in Ulster, North Ireland. All had come over with their father in 1729 except one daughter who died as an infant. The sons all married except one which resulted in a total of forty-six children in the next generation. James's oldest brother John had married in Ireland and brought at least two children with him. The oldest son was older than his uncle James. Already some of his nephews and nieces were married and starting out to establish homes along the frontier. Before the Revolution there were Duncans of this family in Peterborough, Antrim, Hancock, Acworth, Candia and Dover, New Hampshire; Boston and Haverhill, Mass., and in Nova Scotia, Connecticut and New York.

Before James's father died all of his children except William, Esther and James had been established in life so all of the father's household goods and the live stock on the farm were left to his "dearly beloved wife" Margaret, except the furniture "generally called" his daughter Esther's. The farm itself is left to William and James, but one third of the produce is to go to the widow and the two boys must pay their sister Esther £100. The widow may leave her portion to the "dutifullest of my children."

It would seem that *wanderlust* had already become evident in the character of young James at the age of fourteen, before his father died, for written right into the will is "I also *order* my son James to live with his mother untill he arrive to twenty-one years of age and to be dutiful to his mother," but a little further on he authorizes his executors to join with his son William, already of age, in the sale of the land and to improve the money to James's benefit and advantage if it seems best.

This was not, however, where young James got the capital for his first pack-peddling expeditions. He did not originate the business in Londonderry. Major John Pinkerton, later one of the leading citizens and founder of Pinkerton Academy, had begun his business career the same way some years before 1750, and was then just



establishing the first store in Londonderry.<sup>1</sup> It seems likely that Major Pinkerton may have employed young James, or at least provided him with a stock of goods to sell. Major Pinkerton was later to marry Rachel Duncan, James's niece, though he was much older than she.

James's three brothers John, George and William, who stayed in Londonderry all were respectable farmers, became deacons, officers of the militia and held respectable positions in the community and brought up their large families. John had married in Ireland, Rachael Todd, whose mother and brother also came to Londonderry, the other two brothers married daughters of John Bell who came to Londonderry ahead of the Duncans, but had probably been a neighbor in Ireland. The other three children passed out of the Londonderry picture. Robert was a merchant and capable business man in Boston and executor of his father's will, Abraham went to North Carolina and died young, Esther married and moved to Connecticut. The family record says to Valentine, but there is no such town and it has been suggested it was Volun-town said to have been a Scotch Irish community.

James, the hero of this story, was surely not cut out for a dirt farmer. He was by nature a trader and a speculator for whom every effort seemed to turn out successfully. His pack-peddling expeditions were certainly not a failure and he may have gone west as far as Peterborough and perhaps north as far as Concord, then called Rumford, whither there wandered a few years later that curious genius, Benjamin Thompson of Woburn, to marry the daughter of the minister and then desert her to become a spy for General Gage during the Revolution. He drifted to England to found the Royal Society in London and then to Bavaria to become Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Count Rumford. He was invited by Washington to found West Point, he declined and ended up in Paris. Scientist, traitor, inventor, distinguished soldier, friend of kings and princes, he finally invited his long neglected daughter to join him in Paris where he died.

James was a man of less erratic genius but of more

1 Parker : History of Londonderry, p. 93.

steadiness of character and in his wanderings undoubtedly visited Haverhill, that delightful town where the hills slope down to the beautiful Merrimack River between two little rivers which flow in from the north. It lies at the head of navigation on the river for the rapids just above the town prevent the tide from running up further, but small vessels could come up to its wharves along the water front and provided easy transportation to the ocean at Newburyport. The town was also on the most direct line from Salem and Boston, to Exeter and Dover as the roads began to be improved.

From the earliest times there had been a gristmill and also a tanyard on Mill Brook and a sawmill on Little River. By 1750, shipbuilding was starting quite vigorously in this town. About all the ship timber had been cut off from near Salem and southward, but there was still much around Haverhill and the light woods could be rafted down the Merrimack from far up. Already there were yards near Mill Brook and to the east of it<sup>2</sup> and also on Clement's Island. Taken all in all Haverhill offered many opportunities for a young man interested in trade and industry rather than farming.

A man of James Duncan's ambition was not destined to be content with pack-peddling very long. He was born on Feb. 10, 1726 or 1725, as the date may have been written new or old style but, at any rate, by October 20, 1747 he must have been clear of the parental instruction to stay by his mother till he was twenty-one and he promptly married Elizabeth Bell, the youngest daughter of John Bell and Elizabeth Todd of Londonderry, N. H., born December 28, 1725. The Bells and the Todds were of the best people in Londonderry and unlike her husband James who was born in Ireland, Elizabeth was American-born.<sup>3</sup> Just a month later, November 18, 1747, James severed his connection with farming and with Londonderry, by selling his half of the parental farm of eighty-five acres to his brother William.<sup>4</sup> Both James and Eliz-

2 Chase: History of Haverhill, p. 333.

3 Parker: Londonderry, p. 262.

4 Deed in New Hampshire Hist. Soc.

Know all Men by These present That I  
 James Vance of London Derry in the Province of  
 New Hampshire in New England Yeoman for Divers Good  
 Cause and Consideration one Whereunto moving But  
 Especially in Consideration of the Yearly Rent Have and  
 by these presents Do Demise and farm & Let Out unto  
 James Dunken of Haverhill in the Province of the Mas-  
 sachusetts Bay in New England Trader a Certain House and  
 House Lot of Land Lying in Haverhill aforesaid and of which  
 the said Dunken had <sup>had</sup> Lease of me for the year Past  
 and to Have and to Hold the Same Premises again  
 from the first Day of May 1749 untill the first Day  
 of March 1753 and the said James Dunken Do  
 Promise and oblige my self my heirs & to pay unto the said  
 James Vance or to his heirs the Sum of sh<sup>ten</sup> poun-  
 ds twelve shillings & four pence old Ten for the said premises  
 and to pay the same same When the Time of pay and  
 I the said James Vance Do promise for myself my heirs  
 & to keep the said James Dunken & his heirs & him the  
 Possable possession of the premises During a Term  
 and I the said James Dunken Do promise for myself  
 my heirs & to Deliver up the premises unto the said  
 Vance at the Expiration of this Lease Peaceably and  
 quietly without impairing or Demolishing any part  
 thereof Further more We the said James Vance & James L  
 Dunken Do then hereby Bind & oblige themselves in penal  
 Sum of Twenty Pounds Lawfull & to be paid by the Defective  
 party to the party that shall fullfill & perform the same  
 In Witness Whereof I have herunto set my hand & Seal  
 this first Day of May 1749  
 Signed Sealed & Delivered  
 in presence of us  
 William A Vance  
 Mark  
 V Baker

DEED FROM JAMES VANCE TO JAMES DUNKEN

Deed of the first piece of land owned by James Duncan, in Haverhill, dated May 1, 1749.

Note the name spelled Dunken, but James never wrote his name that way.





abeth signed the deed, so she could write, which was not true of all country girls of that day. Just when they moved to Haverhill is not clear, but their first child, a daughter who did not live, was born in 1749 in Haverhill less than two years later, so presumably they moved as soon as the land was sold so James could start in business at once. There is no evidence just what he did for the next year or two but as he was for years a shop keeper probably he "clerked it" for someone else till he bought a store of his own, or indulged in small trading ventures.

Where James and Elizabeth lived their first years is not recorded, but there is among the family papers a quaint old lease from John Vance of Londonderry, N. H., to James Duncan. This was signed May 1 and granted to the latter, the property he later bought, from May 1, 1749—March 1, 1749 old style (which would be March 1, 1750 new style) for £-16-13-4 so he probably lived on that property always. The lease also states he had rented it the previous year. The fact that John Vance was of Londonderry may explain why James Duncan was attracted to the property, but it seemed to suit him for on May 24, 1751 he bought it.<sup>5</sup> It contained 24 perches, a little more than an eighth of an acre, just south of the land of David Marsh on Main Street,<sup>6</sup> and about opposite where the City Hall now stands. It was on this land that James or his son built the large mansion which after his death was converted into the Eagle House, for years the famous Haverhill Hotel. When it was torn down in the early 1900's the reception room was rescued and is now preserved in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. James increased his land holding from time to time till he had quite a block of real estate with an exit on to Water Street from the back.<sup>7</sup> There were already two houses on the lot, an old one, which probably presently disappeared and a newer one in which James no doubt lived for a while and which may have been incorporated in the large new house when built. In 1798, only five dwelling houses in

5 Essex Registry, Bk. 96, p. 256.

6 Chase: Hist. of Haverhill, p. 638.

7 Essex Registry, Bk. 130, p. 121; Bk. 149, p. 143.

Haverhill were taxed for more than that of James Duncan.<sup>8</sup>

It was in a house on this property that all of the children of James and Elizabeth Duncan were born and the family was a large one. Apart from the little daughter who died as an infant the family was as follows:—

Mary	born Sept. 21, 1749	died Oct. 31, 1777
George	Oct. 24, 1751	April 7, 1766
John	Apr. 1, 1754	June 26, 1799
James, Jr.	Apr. 22, 1756	Jan. 5, 1822
Samuel Bell	Apr. 21, 1758	July 9, 1793
Robert	May 21, 1760	Sept. 16, 1806
William Maxwell	Apr. 21, 1762	Oct. 15, 1799
Abraham	Mar. 17, 1764	Oct. 6, 1807
Elizabeth	May 28, 1767	Oct. 3, 1869
Margaret	Apr. 7, 1769	May 19, 1858

It will be noted that of this large family the boys all came to maturity during the difficult and strenuous period of our Revolution. The only one who could have been old enough to have been of great help to his father before that was George who died as a boy of fifteen. Evidently Mary the eldest daughter had the lot, which often fell to the oldest daughter in these large families, of helping her mother take care of the younger children and a strenuous task it probably was for she died unmarried at twenty-eight.

It is clear that James Duncan's activities before the Revolution could not have been shared to any great extent by his sons, but nevertheless he was a hard-working business man with an interest in everything that went on in the town and seems to have prospered.

During the last French War he was actively engaged in shipping provisions and supplies to Halifax while the British were involved in the second attack on Louisburg. Moses Hazzen seems to have been his agent in Halifax and urged the sending of live stock saying English goods were plenty and cheap in Halifax in which the proceeds could be profitably invested.<sup>9</sup> Other documents show that

<sup>8</sup> Chase: Hist. of Haverhill, pp. 466, 490.

<sup>9</sup> Hazzen to Duncan, Sept. 20, 1757, Family MSS.



[illegible]

PLAN OF THE DIVISION OF THE DISTILLERY PROPERTY, DECEMBER 1, 1785

It was a division of the physical property and gave to James Duncan, James Duncan, Jr., and Daniel Appleton the end toward their store on Main Street.

Certain cisterns were still owned in common. Hugh Smith one of the witnesses was the Minister of the Baptist Church.



he had ventures on vessels out of Newburyport to London and the West Indies, and was importing English goods and sugar, molasses, coffee and other products from the islands. At the home end he collected barrel hoops and staves, pails, firkins and other cooperage, salt provisions pot and pearl ashes. At this time he does not seem to have had ships of his own, but he was deep in the molasses business and evidently looked with longing at the very profitable distillery trade.

About 1728, James McHard had started a distillery where Pecker Street joins Merrimack Street. This property was bought in 1763 by Isaac Osgood, gentleman, Samuel White, Esq., and James Duncan, trader. Isaac Osgood was largely interested in the distilling business and probably Duncan got into it with him to some extent. This was not, however, when he really entered the distillery business. In 1767, with Jonathan Webster and Isaac Redington, all "traders," he bought half the mortgage on Edmund Moers property on Main Street below City Hall, which ran back perhaps two hundred feet and connected with the Osgood-White-Duncan property previously acquired. Almost simultaneously they bought the equity on the property for £4-8 compared with the £66 they paid for the mortgage. The property was owned one half by Duncan and a quarter by each of the others. They went right to work on it for by September 28, 1767 they had expended £536-7-2 in the same proportion and signed an agreement to accept each others ledger charges for each share.<sup>10</sup> It did not last long, however, for Webster sold his share in the business to Duncan the following April. There were two distilleries running in 1767,<sup>11</sup> but sometime later they must have been merged and most of the original owners eliminated, for there is a funny old plan dated Nov. 1785,<sup>12</sup> showing a division of the real estate between Hon. Nathaniel Peasley Sargent, Mr. John Johnson and Mr. Jonathan Payson on one side and James Duncan & Son and Daniel Appleton on the other. Apparently both units were workable as a distillery, but the

<sup>10</sup> Account in the Family MSS.

<sup>11</sup> Assessor's List, Chase, p. 426.

<sup>12</sup> Family MSS.



eastern end backed up on James Duncan's store so by this time he evidently had a store on Main Street. Duncan sold a quarter of the stillhouse to Judge Sargent in 1788, and various fractions to his son James at about the same time when he was pulling out of active business.

Among his other trading propensities James Duncan was a constant trader in land. One of his earliest ventures was to obtain a grant with five other men of six townships in Maine, east of the Penobscot River. These six were all prominent business men of Haverhill, namely Jonathan Buck, one of the Militia lieutenants, Enoch Bartlett, Isaac Osgood, David Marsh, James McHard and James Duncan. There was a provision for establishing settlers and there are extant several indentures<sup>13</sup> of men who agreed to settle on the Duncan grant, but Jonathan Buck was the only one who went personally, hence the town of Bucksport.

There is a petition filed by the Tory agent in London, John Calef, on Aug. 18, 1780 with the Privy Council on behalf of James Duncan, Benjamin Herrod, David Marsh and other grantees of land east of the Sagadahoc, stating they have *taken the oath of fidelity* and are desirous of being severed from Massachusetts Bay and made a separate province<sup>14</sup>. This looks rather like wishful thinking on the part of the Tory agent as these men were then in Haverhill and it is unlikely that they would take any such oath or authorize such a petition though the British had recently captured Castine. How valuable this grant proved is not shown anywhere, but the grantees were particular to get it confirmed in 1785 after the Revolution, so it must still have had value. It is interesting to note that this confirmation<sup>15</sup> passed by the Massachusetts General Court March 16, 1785 several years ahead of the Northwest Ordinance has the provisions for setting aside land for the Meetinghouse, the minister, the school and the town itself in the regular New England way. A report on the source of the settlers in these Maine towns

<sup>13</sup> Family MSS.

<sup>14</sup> Acts of the Privy Council Colonial Series vi, 484. See Colonial Society of Mass. Publication Vol. xxiv, p. 247.

<sup>15</sup> Attested copy in Family MSS.

as well in ~~his~~ own name, as for and in the name and names of all  
and every other person or persons to whom the same doth, may or shall appertain, in part or in all, doth make  
affiance, and causeth himself and them, and every of them, to be injured, lost or not lost, the sum of

And it shall and may be lawful for the vessel, &c. in this voyage, in cases of extremity, and distress, to proceed and sail to, and touch at any ports or places whatsoever, without prejudice to this Insurance: Touching the adventures and perils which we the assurers are contented to bear, and to take upon us in this voyage; they are of the seas, men of war, fire, enemies, pirates, rovers, thieves, jettisons, letters of mart and counter mart, surprisals, takings at sea, arrests, restraints and detentions of all Kings, Princes, and People, of what nation, condition, or quality soever; barraty of the master (unless the assured be owner of said vessel) and mariners, of all other perils, losses, that have, or shall come to the hurt, detriment or damage of the said *Freight and Cargo* — or any part thereof. And in case of any loss or misfortune, it shall be lawful for the assurers, their factors, servants, and assigns, to sue, labour, and travel for, in and about the defence, safeguard, and recovery of said

IN WITNESS whereof, the above assurers have subscribed our names and sums assured in  
NEW-ENGLAND, this 13<sup>th</sup> day of June 1772.

Bread, Corn, Flax-Seed, Fish, Salt, Hemp, Hides, Skins, and such Goods as are esteemed perishable, are warranted free from average, unless a general average, or the vessel stranded.

490. William Warthen two hundred pounds. Ent.  
 500. Benjamin Bales five hundred pounds. Ent.  
 510. John Hudson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 520. William Story two hundred pounds. Ent.  
 530. William Smith one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 540. David Howard one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 550. John Smith one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 560. William B. Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 570. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 580. Joseph Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 590. William Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 600. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 610. William Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 620. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 630. William Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 640. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
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 660. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 670. William Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 680. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 690. William Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 700. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 710. William Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 720. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 730. William Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 740. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 750. William Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 760. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 770. William Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 780. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 790. William Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 800. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 810. William Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 820. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 830. William Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 840. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 850. William Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 860. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 870. William Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 880. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 890. William Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 900. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 910. William Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 920. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
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 940. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 950. William Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 960. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 970. William Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 980. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 990. William Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.  
 1000. John Johnson one hundred pounds. Ent.





issued in 1801 indicate that about 20% of the families in Bucksport came from Haverhill and adjacent towns.<sup>16</sup>

It is not possible to get a connected view of James Duncan's business operations from 1750 to 1783 when the Revolution ended, for the ledgers one to six often alluded to in the family papers have disappeared, but we get glimpses of his operations. He is always described as a "trader" in the early years, but by 1768 he had become a "shopkeeper." After 1772 he is regularly described as a "merchant" till he retires into the status of a "gentleman."<sup>17</sup> All during the period he was shipping produce on vessels out of Newburyport to the West Indies, England and Nova Scotia and importing all sorts of things including a lot of molasses for the distillery. This trading was not done on his own vessels but on those of other merchants. He even had "ventures" on China-going ships soon after the Revolution.

The first definite evidence we have of his own vessels is a contract he signed with Peter Russell of Haverhill Dec. 1, 1774, to build a "schooner 56 feet keel—twenty three feet Beam." He promises to pay "two pounds ten shillings & eight pence lawful money per ton for as many tons as the said vessel shall measure." "The pay to be as follows—the one half in English goods at thirteen for one in the wholesail way and at the Common Cash Price in the retail way, the other half in New England rum at one shilling & Nine pence Lawful money per Gall." There is a final clause promising to give Mr. Russell "for clearing chips, watering sd. vessel & launching her" two barrels of New England Rum.<sup>18</sup> Obviously the vessel did not cost James much money when he was paying for her in goods he imported and rum he distilled. There is no further record of this schooner unless she was converted into the brigantine *Polly* which he owned at the opening of the Revolution. The *Polly's* crew list was complete in June 1775, and she presumably sailed as stated therein to London and the West Indies. By August 1776 she was

16 George Halliburton, Marshal's office Dist. of Maine, Feb.

18, 1801, quoted in New England Hist. Gen. Reg., CV, pp. 282-3.

17 Description on sundry deeds.

18 Kimball Family MSS., vol. 17, p. 33, Essex Institute.

in the West Indies, for in a letter from Moses Black in Boston<sup>19</sup> Captain McNeil is reported at Martinico where he is trying to sell the brig then at Dominico for fear of capture. This letter shows that James had been very anxious about her and implies that he was the owner. Moses Black's letter is a very interesting one and says he will be in Haverhill in a week. His special message to be remembered to "Miss Polly" seems to confirm his engagement to her, but poor Polly died before they could be married.

James Duncan was always trading in land not only on his grant down in Maine but up in New Hampshire. As early as 1754, he bought a piece in Goffstown which turned out to be part of the great Manchester water power. Probably by way of helping out cousins, he acquired land in Antrim and Acworth and Grantham. He took up a land grant in Thornton and acquired somehow land in Chester, Atkinson, Plaistow, Gilmanton, Bow and elsewhere which are often mentioned but to which there are a bundle of very informal deeds. These lands were taken upon mortgages, bought in on tax sales to protect bad loans or just given to him as payment for something. His business was trading and land was one of his commodities.

Probably by the middle fifties he was running a shop under his own name on Main Street below where the City Hall stands. Webster and Redington may have shared this venture with him for a while for they were traders too, and were with him in the first distillery venture as previously stated. After they retired Daniel Appleton seems to have had a part in it. The store was burned to the ground in the great fire that burned all the west side of Main Street two days before the battle of Lexington.

All of these activities involved a lot of work and it was customary for the men of those days to throw responsibility onto their sons as soon as they came of age but John, eldest surviving son, married Lucy Todd of Middletown, Conn. and had probably left Haverhill by 1775, the sec-

19 Family MSS.

ond son, James, Jr., however, became his father's partner and always lived in Haverhill. This was probably in the early part of our Revolution and James Duncan & Son was a distinguished firm in Haverhill for many years. James, Jr. had fully as much ability as his father and did not have to start at the bottom. They were forceful energetic characters not hampered by too much conservations, just the sort of men who made America. Neither of them was a large man, in fact they were rather on the small side and James, Senior, had impaired vision in one eye said to have been caused by a severe attack of small-pox when a child on the voyage from Ireland. However, he could see more with one eye than most men can with two.

The elder Duncan was not without a record of public service. As early as 1754 there is a document he signed as Town Clerk, but he must have been simply an acting clerk for a particular meeting for it was during the long term of Mr. Eaton. Unlike his son and grandson who were most active in the militia, when the lists were made up in 1757 for the old French War, he is among the "exempt" included on the Alarm List for home service.<sup>20</sup> This was probably because he had only one eye.

About 1768, Haverhill felt the need of some method of combating fires so they organized a Fire-Club, "That if a fire shall happen to break out at Haverhill where we dwell, we will be helpful (more especially) to each other for extinguishing the same and in saving and taking the utmost care of each others goods - - - and securing them against embezzlement." So is stated the object of the Club which was limited to twenty-six members. John White, Jr., James McHard, James Duncan, Richard Saltonstall, N. P. Sargent and all the prominent men were members. All members had to keep two leather buckets and two cotton bags a yard and three quarters long and three quarters of a yard wide marked with their names hanging in a convenient place in their houses. They met quarterly on the first Thursday in April, etc., at 6 P. M. and anyone who was not present when the roll was called

at 7 P. M. paid four pence. They seem to have met at some tavern and the cost of the entertainment which was called "the club" was paid at 10 P.M. Absent members had to pay their share of the "Club" though they did not drink it.<sup>21</sup> The running of the organization devolved on the clerk. He had to keep the accounts, collect the fines, appoint the meeting place and before each quarterly meeting with one other member "as their names stand on the list" he had to visit every member, notify them of the place of meeting, inspect their apparatus and make a full report at the meeting. He had to pay two shillings for any failure. Nor was he elected to office or paid. The members drew lots and he who lost had to serve a year as clerk whether or no, but after his term, he was exempt from future drawings. The next year they bought a fire engine and a company consisting of many of the same men was organized to care for it. It is interesting to note that while the members paid for lots of things, no one was paid for anything, quite different from the state of affairs nowadays.

By 1786, the original company had increased their equipment by ladders stored in different parts of the village. Anyone who used them except for fires was fined five shillings. They also started an entirely new activity for the recovery of stolen goods. At each quarterly meeting half the members drew tickets on which the names of the roads out of the village were written. In case of theft the members so drawn were to proceed at once on horseback to the place of robbery, get the details and go at once down their road to catch the thief if possible. It seems rather primitive, but those men were no fools and did not work for nothing so it was probably effective.<sup>22</sup>

Now James Duncan was of course brought up a Presbyterian and differed from the brand of Calvinism maintained by the old Puritan clergy, so it was not strange that he was influenced by the Great Awakening of George

<sup>21</sup> Rules of the Haverhill Fire Club, 1768, Printed Broadside with written list of first 23 members.

<sup>22</sup> Rules of the Haverhill Fire Club of 1768 with additions to 1786 Printed booklet name of James Duncan, Jr., on cover also Chase: Haverhill, pp. 427-30.



Whitfield and perhaps more strongly by Rev. Hezekiah Smith, one of Whitfield's followers. At any rate it developed that by Jan. 1, 1765<sup>23</sup> a group of men met at his house on Main Street with a view to forming a new church. In the family papers there are two documents that may be significant. One endorsed "record of Church Meeting of 1753" says "It was moved that the question might be put whether the Church judge that Mr. Balch does deny the Eternity of Hell Torment. It was accordingly put to the Church who voted in the affirmative." This would seem to show disapproval by the Church of Mr. Balch. The other is a draft of a church covenant and is frankly Presbyterian in form.

"Considering the Great Declentions and Wayning off from the Antient puritaneital Doctrines of faith and the wants of good Discipline in the Church in this part of the Land, we the Subscribers Look upon it our Dutey to look over our own Edification by Setting up the public Worship of God by our Selves and therefore we Hereby Declare our adherence to the Doctrines and Duties of Christianity as Explained in the Westminster Confession of faith & Catechism except a part of the 23 Chapter of the Confession Respecting the power of Civil magistrates and—We also adhere to the plesbaterin (sic) form of Church Government and Desayer to put our Selves under the Care and Direction of Boston presbytrety and pray them to Grant us Such Suplies from time to time as they may be able & pray God that they may be Instrumental of our happy Settlement." Then they agree to build a house of worship facing the river by subscription and assign the pews to the subscribers.

This may be the actual covenant James Duncan presented to the meeting, but they could not have adopted it for it became a Baptist Church. James never joined the church though he always attended it and supported it. The writer has an extremely well thumbed edition of the Westminster Confession of Faith and Longer and Shorter Catechism and Solemn League and Covenant of the edition of 1749 with James Duncan's signature, so he may

<sup>23</sup> Harry R. Davis, First Baptist Church of Haverhill, E.I.H.C., Vol. 82, p. 194.

have always remained a Presbyterian and, considering his obstinacy of character, probably did.

There seems to be no doubt of where James Duncan stood as the Revolution drew on. His son James, Jr., and Samuel were both in the Artillery Company organized in September, 1774,<sup>24</sup> which evolved into the first foot company of Haverhill. There must have been some sort of Public Safety committee appointed at the Town meeting of September 14, or soon after, for there is a letter addressed to James Duncan from Bradford which reads:

“Bradford, Sept. 19, 1774

Gentlemen

We at Bradford in compliance to yours dated 17th have chosen a committee to join your committee to wait on Col. Saltonstall. The Committee are as follows

Capt Daniel Thurston	Sub Committee
Peter Russell	Dudley Carlton, Esq
Dudley Carlton, Esq.	Daniel Jaques
Lieut Nathaniel Parker	Thomas Webster
Daniel Jaques	Deacon Obadiah Kimball
Benjamin Gage, gtn	Abraham Parker
Abraham Parker	Lt Nathaniel Parker
Thomas Webster	John Burbank
Deacon Thomas Kimball	(on behalf
William Greenough	Peter Russell (of the
Dr Benjamin Muzzy	(Committee
Nathaniel Gage, Jr	
Ebenezer Wood	
John Burbank	
Josiah Bacon	
Samuel Woodman	
Bradstreet Parker	
Deacon Timothy Hardy	
Deacon Obadiah Kimball	
Eliphlet Hale	

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To Mr James Duncan  
one of the Committee at  
—— Haverhill ——

<sup>24</sup> Chase: Haverhill, p. 374.

There are conflicting accounts of what happened next but the Colonel, who was a confirmed Tory, presently left for England and never returned so the committee's visit was effective.<sup>25</sup> The incident is only interesting here as showing that James Duncan was more than a passive patriot.

Filed with the above is a MSS copy of Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union proposed by the Delegates of the several Colonies of New Hampshire, etc., in General Congress met at Philadelphia May 10, 1775. These very faintly resemble the Articles adopted two and a half years later and were perhaps sent out to prominent men and committees to get their reaction and solicit suggestions. Probably James Duncan was a member of such a group during the crucial winter of 1774-75.

In addition to his public and business responsibilities James Duncan had a very considerable family to look after. Of his ten children who grew beyond infancy, his eldest son George had died and the second son John as has been said, seems to have left home as soon as he was twenty-one and later married Lucy Todd daughter of Rev. Mr. Todd of Middletown, Conn. probably of the Londonderry Todds. In 1781, he sold a small piece of land in Haverhill to his father, but as Lucy did not sign the deed, he was not then married, but he signs as of Charlestown, County of Washington, *alias* Chesshire, State of Vermont *alias* New Hampshire. This shows the confusion then existing as to which state the Connecticut Valley belonged to. John seems to have been the first of the brothers to push up into that valley and Charlestown is not far south of Grantham where he and two of his brothers soon settled.

These two brothers Robert and Samuel next to James in age, with the next younger William seem to have moved up to Concord, N. H., about 1780 and started some kind of a store there. Before 1784, William had married a lady of some wealth and standing, Dolly Harris, by name. Her father Robert M. Harris seems to have

<sup>25</sup> L. Saltonstall: Sketch of Haverhill, Mass. Hist. Soc. Col. 2nd Ser., iv, p. 164; Chase: Haverhill, p. 377.

been a wealthy ship owner of Portsmouth, N. H., who owned the ship *Alligator*. A number of heirlooms which have come down indicate more than average prosperity in the Harris family.<sup>26</sup> Anyway William was soon a substantial merchant in Concord and was the wealthiest of the brothers except James, Jr.

Samuel and Robert continued their pilgrimage and by 1783 had settled in Grantham near the village of Meriden and joined up with John, who seems to have reached there about the same time. Samuel married Hannah Emerson of Haverhill, daughter of Nehemiah and Susanna Emerson, five of whose brothers were in the Revolutionary Army at one time.<sup>27</sup> After Samuel's early death Hannah married his brother Robert. She bore each brother four children. It appears that life was pretty hard on the hillside farm on Grantham mountain and the brothers must have lived strenuous lives.

With all these boys leaving the Haverhill home during the trying years of the war it must have seemed as if the family was indeed breaking up, but there were two other worse blows which fell upon James in those years. His eldest daughter Mary, said to have been engaged to Moses Black of Boston, died in the autumn of 1777. She was the oldest of the family and no doubt a great help to her mother who died not quite two years later. This left in the family James, Jr., the able son whom his father about this time took into partnership, Abraham, the youngest boy not yet of age and the two little girls Elizabeth and Margaret, who when their mother died were respectively ten and eight. Clearly the situation demanded a lady of discretion at the head of the family.

There had recently come to live in Haverhill a Mrs. McKinstry and her spinster sister Elizabeth Leonard. They were Tory refugees who had returned from Halifax and had come to Haverhill to live under the protection of their sister Mrs. John White, the wife of the rich merchant.<sup>28</sup> Elizabeth Leonard was a mature woman of forty-

26 Letter of Mrs. C. F. Weed June 1, 1951.

27 Chase: Haverhill, p. 630.

28 See J. D. Phillips: Folks in Haverhill in 1783, E.I.H.C., Vol. LXXXII, p. 144.



four and seemed ideally suited to take charge of James Duncan's motherless little girls and James married her six months after his wife's death. It did not, however, work out so well. The poor lady became mentally deranged and in spite of every care, eluded her friends and drowned herself in the great river that flows steadily before the town just over five years after her marriage. The event naturally greatly agitated her two sisters and Mr. Duncan's surviving brothers came down from Londonderry for the funeral. John Adams's lively young niece who was visiting Mrs. White at the time describes them as "most venerable good pious men."<sup>29</sup> She also wrote her mother a very full account of the tragedy.<sup>30</sup>

This unfortunate tragedy left Mr. Duncan with the family problem still on his hands and a year later he married another lady of mature years, Hannah Greenleaf of Newburyport, with whom he lived for twenty-seven years of his long life. She was the daughter of John Greenleaf and Hannah (Smith) Greenleaf and was born Dec. 29, 1729,<sup>31</sup> so she was only three years younger than her husband. She evidently fitted comfortably into the household for little has come down about her. She died a few years before her husband at the age of eighty five. A little more than a year after Hannah Greenleaf came into the family, Elizabeth, the oldest daughter, married John Thaxter, Nov. 13, 1787. He was a rather brilliant young lawyer from Hingham who had been John Adams's secretary at the Paris peace conference and on his return decided to settle in Haverhill. His death after only four years of married life was a great loss to the family. His son died as an infant, but his daughter lived to be nearly ninety years old.<sup>32</sup> Elizabeth herself remained a widow a few years and then married Joshua Carter of Newburyport a successful merchant. They lived together for many

29 Journal of Elizabeth Cranch, E.I.H.C., LXXX, p. 14.

30 Letter now owned by the writer.

31 Newbury Vital Records.

32 See Anna Thaxter Parsons: Old Newburyport Wedding, E.I.H.C. Vol. LXXXVII, p. 309, and Cecil H. C. Howard: Thomas and Esther Carter and Their Descendants, E.I.H.C., Vol. LXV, p. 499.

years in the house next to the Wolfe Tavern and from them many delightful families of Carters, Reynolds and others are descendants.

Abraham, the youngest of the boys, moved to Dover, N. H., a short time after the Revolution and started a store there. He presently married a widow, Mrs. Mary Parker, who was born at Mellen. They had one daughter born in 1800, who as her parents both died soon after came to live with her grandfather and continued to live with his son, his grandson and his great grandchildren most of her life till her death at the age of ninety-three. Of her generation she alone was known to the writer of this story who well remembers her and her memories of the family for over eighty years. As Cousin Caroline to the older members of the family, but as "Grandma Tiny" to the children (she was very small) she held an honored place at the family firesides till her death.

James Duncan, Jr., the second surviving son was twenty-one in 1777. During the eight difficult years of the Revolution or soon after all the other sons had dispersed to various activities in other parts of New England, James apparently was chosen by his father as his own special helper and sometime during the Revolution, he took him into partnership with him in his business ventures. James, Jr., proved himself to be a man of great energy and ability and the firm name of James Duncan and Son, was soon well known from its stores in Lebanon and Haverhill, N. H., to the counting rooms and insurance offices in Newburyport and Boston. That will be the theme of the next paper.

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Most of the material for this paper was found in a trunk full of Duncan Family Papers, in certain papers and a genealogy from the papers of the late John D. Bryant and from Chase's History of Haverhill.

## EPES SARGENT'S ACCOUNT OF A BRITISH PRESS GANG IN 1803

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CONTRIBUTED BY HENRY BARRETT HUNTINGTON

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One of the many Epes Sargents of Gloucester, Salem, and Boston was born in 1784 in Gloucester and left an orphan at the age of five. When fifteen he sailed for the Indies as cabin-boy on the ship *Eliza*, owned by Francis Amory of Boston, under captain Joseph Odell. After several voyages before the mast, when he was eighteen he got a berth as second mate on the brig *Greyhound*, owned by Eben Parsons of Boston and commanded by Isaac Elwell of Gloucester. Their destination was Muscat in Arabia, where they took on a cargo of Mocha coffee. Their orders were to take it to Cowes in the Isle of Wight where they were to receive instructions as to the sale of the coffee.

While at Cowes, in 1803, they had considerable trouble with the British press gangs. Of one of these episodes Epes Sargent gives the following account in some letters he wrote in 1846 to his little grandson.

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“While lying in the Roads waiting for a fair wind to sail for France, one evening about sunset, our Captain started from the brig to go on shore in the boat, with four men to man the oars, when about a third of the way towards the shore a man-of-war’s boat manned with twelve men at the oars, a boatswain and a Lieutenant pulled alongside of our boat with so much violence as to break one of our oars. Our Captain was taken by surprise and, on turning his head to see who had committed this outrage, was accosted by a young dandy of a Lieutenant (presenting at the same time a pistol at the breast of our unarmed Captain) in the following manner. ‘Are your men protected?’ And without giving our Captain time to reply demanded a sight of their protections. He told him if he would return with him to the brig they should show him their protections. This he accordingly did and by this time it was nearly dark. This Mr. Dandy Officer

stepped very pompously on the *Greyhound's* quarter deck, ordered his twelve armed ruffians to follow him and, after leaning himself against the companionway, ordered the men to produce their protections. The first man that presented his protection for examination happened to be the captain's brother—his name was Elias Elwell; he is now [1846] living and has been for many years one of the most respectable shipmasters sailing out of the port of Boston. The fellow cast his eye upon the protection and then turning to our captain said 'I shall take this man. Get your things and go into the boat.' 'What do you mean, sir,' answered our Captain. 'Take this man? He is my own brother and has an American protection.' 'I don't care, sir. I shall take him.' At this moment he presented a pistol at the breast of our unarmed Captain, observing in a very excited manner, 'I am sorry to use violence, sir.' Then addressing his armed miscreants said 'Take that man into the boat.' Elias was quite calm and merely remarked that there was no necessity for force, he could go in the boat, it would be folly for an unarmed man to resist. So he went quietly into the boat where he was followed by this scamp of a Lieutenant and his gang, without looking at another man's protection.

The frigate that this officer belonged to came into the Roads that afternoon and was lying but a short distance from us. The boat now returned to her. This was one of the most aggravating cases of impressment I ever witnessed. We were unarmed, taken by surprise, and in no respect able to act on the defensive. Our Captain went immediately to the American Consul and returned with a letter from the Consul to the captain of the frigate. By the time he reached the frigate it was eight o'clock in the evening; the order he heard given by the officer to the sentinel at the gang-way was to 'keep that boat off. Don't let that boat come alongside.' Our Captain then hailed the officer of the deck and requested him to have the goodness to tell the commanding officer that he was from the American Consul at Cowes. The answer he received was 'Will you have the goodness to tell the American Consul to go to hell.' Finding he could not be per-



mitted to board the frigate, he went on shore resolved to make another attempt early in the morning. When morning came the boat was sent on shore for the captain and returned with him and the Consul's clerk, a Scotchman six and a half feet high. Our Captain was determined to board the frigate this time or perish in the attempt. The frigate appeared to be preparing to get under way as soon as it was light and when our boat arrived alongside the sail was set on board the frigate and she was fast gathering head way. The order on board the frigate to the sentinel was 'Keep that boat off; don't let her come alongside; let no one come on board from her.' Our Captain had resolved to place himself on that frigate's quarter deck and go ahead was the word. He had already got alongside; to ascend the ladder was an easy task, but there was a sentinel standing at the top of the ladder with a fixed bayonet. No matter, upward and onward fearlessly he went, put the bayonet aside with his hand and with one bound stood upon the frigate's quarter deck. The Captain of the frigate met him in an imperious manner and demanded his business. He handed him the letter from the Consul. He looked at it and with the greatest indignation tore it in pieces, saying 'No, sir. Elwell shant go; leave my ship, sir.' 'I will, sir, when you have told me by what authority you hold my brother on board your ship,—an American citizen with an American protection.' 'Because I choose to, sir; now leave my ship, sir.' 'I will,' answered our captain, 'but you must first listen to a few words I have to say.' Then with the greatest coolness he remarked, 'Here I am, an unarmed man and you with a frigate under foot and yourself armed, your officers armed, your quarter deck bristling with bayonets; yet, sir, I fear you not; perhaps the time may come when we may meet on equal ground. Until then, farewell.' By this time you may be sure this captain of the frigate had worked himself into a tremendous passion in which our captain left him and returned on board the *Greyhound*. The whole account of this affair I had from the Consul's clerk, who accompanied our Captain and was on the frigate's quarter deck during the whole interview between

our Captain and the Captain of the frigate. And if my memory serves me the substance of my relation varies little from his account. Our Captain returned on board the *Greyhound* with feelings more easy for you to imagine than for me to describe. His own brother was on board a British man-of-war, held in worse than bondage and compelled to fight the battles of a nation that no true citizen of the United States under any circumstances ought willingly to draw the sword for.

Captain Elwell was not a man to despond, an effort must be made, and that without delay, to rescue his brother. The frigate was on her way towards Yarmouth Roads, from there to sea, perhaps immediately. He went on shore for the purpose of taking such course as his friends might advise to obtain an early release of his brother. Captain Elwell was highly esteemed by everyone that knew him and on the present occasion they all felt great sympathy for him and a proper indignation towards the Captain of the frigate for the rascally outrage; his friends were ready to serve him and did serve him most effectually. A statement of the case was immediately made by the American Consul and backed by a letter from the collector of the port of Cowes and transmitted without delay to the Admiral at Spithead by a swift barge provided especially for the purpose. This procured an immediate order from the Admiral to the Captain of the frigate to deliver up Elias Elwell immediately on receipt of the order. The same swift barge proceeded to Yarmouth Roads, presented the order to the Captain of the frigate, obtained his release without a moment's delay and brought him on board the *Greyhound*, having been absent in His Majesty's service two days. He was stationed in the fore-top and at one of the guns which he was employed in exercising at the time the order arrived for his release. Many, very many cases of impressment of American seamen happened in those days; but the cases of the men impressed being so promptly given up on a representation of the case were very rare, not one in a hundred. And in this case, if the frigate had been gone to sea, the order to release our man could not have been

presented; and, if the ship had been bound upon a distant station, years might have rolled by before his discharge could have been procured. . . .

Mr. Livingstone, bearer of despatch, Secretary of Legation, or in some other manner connected with our embassy at the Court of St. Cloud, was going passenger with us to France. This circumstance was represented to the Admiral at Spithead and doubtless had some influence in effecting the prompt release of our man whose impressment by a British officer was delaying the departure of a messenger of our Government."

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SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS.

## WHITTIER SET TO MUSIC

By C. MARSHALL TAYLOR

Hymns using words by John Greenleaf Whittier are to be found in the hymnals of almost all faiths and, according to a study recently made, increasingly so as new editions are printed. "Dear Lord and Father of Mankind" now ranks as one of the three most popular hymns in the world. T. Franklin Currier listed some one-hundred and eight different hymns which he ascribed to Whittier and, since that list was published in his Bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier in 1937, others have been discovered. Sixty different poems furnish words for these various hymns, with "Eternal Goodness" furnishing lines for ten different versions. In addition to those poems which have been adapted to hymns, a great many of Whittier's other poems have been set to music, the most popular of which are "At Last," "Song of Great Joy," "Song of the Lumbersmen," "Mabel Martin," "Maud Muller," "Ship Builders," "Shoemakers," "Song of the Negro Boatmen," "Barbara Frietchie," and the campaign song, "We're free, we're free," used in both the Fremont and Lincoln campaigns.

Recently there have come to light three musical scores using Whittier's poetry, one of which is "The Great Miracle," a sixty-two page Easter Cantata for Soli, Chorus and Organ. The text was compiled and the music composed by C. Hugo Grimm of the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music, and published and copyrighted by the John Church Company, 1918. It is divided into three parts, (1) Invocation to Spring, (2) In the Sepulchre, (3) Resurrection. The words used in part 1 are from Whittier's poem "April," and Mr. Grimm, in preparing a definite plan before he started the music, decided that a text was required for the first part based upon spring as the symbol of the Resurrection. Long search provided just what he wanted in Whittier's "April." The poem is used almost in its entirety, with some slight rearrangement, and as finally set to music is as follows:



O soul of the Spring-time, its light and its breath,  
Bring warmth to this coldness, bring life to this death!

We wait for thy coming, sweet wind of the south,  
For the touch of thy light wings, the kiss of thy mouth;  
For the yearly evangel thou bearest from God,  
Resurrection and life to the graves of the sod!

Renew the great miracle; let us behold  
The stone from the mouth of the sepulchre rolled,  
And Nature, like Lazarus, rise, as of old!  
Let our faith, which in darkness and coldness has lain,  
Revive with the warmth and the brightness again,  
And in blooming of flower and budding of tree  
The symbols and types of our destiny see.

The words for the other parts of the cantata were compiled in part by Mr. Grimm using the appropriate Biblical references applying to the Sepulchre and to the Resurrection, and include lines by H. Bonar and an English translation of "Plaudite Coeli" expressly made for this work by the Rev. Richard Davis. In 1925, Mr. Grimm wrote the music for another musical score using the words of Whittier's "The Dead Feast of the Kol-Folk," first published in the Atlantic Monthly, January 1879. Whittier based the poem on the reverence paid the dead by the Kol tribes of Chota Nagpur, Assam, and Mr. Grimm composed this music as a result of paging over a volume of Whittier one day, with his eyes catching the line "we have boiled the rice." In addition, he made a special study of the scales of Indian music and based this work on a number of them. This Whittier music has been almost completely lost.

Another Whittier poem, "My Psalm," was set to music first by Frank N. Hair, Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1885 and dedicated "To the Class of '87 of the Worcester High School." This song, though widely acclaimed at the time, has all but disappeared from sight, with only two copies known to exist. There were seventeen verses in the original poem by Whittier, of which the following were set to music:

I mourn no more my vanished years:  
 Beneath a tender rain,  
 An April rain of smiles and tears,  
 My heart is young again.

The west-winds blow, and, singing low,  
 I hear the glad streams run;  
 The windows of my soul I throw  
 Wide open to the sun.

I plow no more a desert land,  
 To harvest weed and tare;  
 The manna dropping from God's hand  
 Rebukes my painful care.

Yet shall the blue-eyed gentian look  
 Through fringed lids to heaven,  
 And the pale aster in the brook  
 Shall see its image given;—

The woods shall wear their robes of praise,  
 The south-wind softly sigh,  
 And sweet, calm days in golden haze  
 Melt down the amber sky.

Mae Silsby used entirely different verses of "My Psalm" for her sacred solo, "All as God Wills," copyrighted in 1893 and dedicated "To my friend, Miss Mary E. Jewell." The words are as follows:

All as God wills, who wisely heeds  
 To give or to withhold,  
 And knoweth more of all my needs  
 Than all my prayers have told!

Enough that blessings undeserved  
 Have marked by erring track;  
 That wheresoe'er my feet have swerved,  
 His chastening turned me back;

That more and more a Providence  
 Of love is understood,  
 Making the springs of time and sense  
 Sweet with eternal good;—

That death seems but a covered way  
Which opens into light,  
Wherein no blinded child can stray  
Beyond the Father's sight;

No longer forward nor behind  
I look in hope or fear;  
But, grateful, take the good I find,  
The best of now and here.

It is truly a paradox that a poet who never sang a note should have so many of his poems set to music. The truth is his poems carry the spirit and the musical scores bring it out in a way pleasing both to the ear and to the heart.

## GRANTS OF LAND TO ACADEMIES IN MASSACHUSETTS AND MAINE

By HARRIET WEBSTER MARR

Massachusetts is justly proud of the colonial law of 1647 requiring grammar schools in each town of 100 families,<sup>1</sup> but few of the histories tell of the subsequent legislation with increasing fines for non-observance, showing how difficult it was to enforce the law.<sup>2 3 4</sup> In 1702 a new law included the statement "observance of which wholesome and necessary law is shamefully neglected by diverse towns, and the penalty not required, tending greatly to the nourishment of ignorance and irreligion." If it was difficult to enforce the law in the early days of the eighteenth century it is not strange that the law became a dead letter during the Revolutionary War, when both possible masters and older boys were in the army.

With the organization of the Republic came an increased sense of responsibility for the education of youth. "America's Appeal to an Impartial World," published in Hartford in 1775, stated that "the strength of every free government is the virtue of the people; virtue grows on knowledge, and knowledge on education."<sup>5</sup> And Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, said, "Establish and improve the law for the education of the common people."<sup>6</sup>

This deep-rooted feeling about the necessity of education gave an added impetus to a movement for academies that had already started in Massachusetts. By 1796, a total of eleven such schools had been founded, seven of them with grants of land in Maine. The only public wealth of the day consisted in the public lands; land had been given by State and Federal governments to pay soldiers

1 Laws and Liberties of Mass., reprinted from copy in Huntington Library. Harvard University Press, 1929.

2 Chapter LXXXVIII of Charters and General Laws of Province of Mass., 1683.

3 Chapter LXXII of laws of 1702.

4 Chapter CXXVII of laws of 1718.

5 Appeal to Impartial World, Hartford, 1775.

6 Quoted in Education in United States, E. W. Knight, p. 150, Ginn and Co., 1929.



of the Revolutionary War; land could be given to help these infant institutions of learning. Four of the eleven academies received land in their acts of incorporation: Washington Academy at Machias, was given Cutler; Berwick, Athens; Fryeburg, Mason; Bristol at Taunton, Embden. Three more received land by special resolves of the legislature: Leicester, Stetson; Marblehead, Exeter; Hallowell, Harmony. With the exception of Bristol Academy grant these townships (known in that day by number only) were in the southwestern part of the Province of Maine, and all but the grants to Leicester and Fryeburg were for whole townships, six miles square. Governor Dummer Academy,<sup>6a</sup> Derby School at Hingham, Phillips Academy at Andover, Groton and Westford Academies received no grants by act of incorporation or in years immediately following. Eight of these schools were in eastern Massachusetts; two were in western Massachusetts, and five were in the Province of Maine.

That was the situation when Samuel Adams began his second term as governor of Massachusetts in 1795. He considered the academy movement undemocratic, saying in his message of 1795: "While it is acknowledged that great advantages have been derived from these institutions, perhaps it may be justly apprehended that multiplying them may have a tendency to injure the ancient and beneficial mode of Education in Town Grammar Schools. The peculiar advantage of such schools is that the poor and rich may derive equal benefit from them, but none excepting the more wealthy, generally speaking, can avail themselves of the benefits of the Academies. Should these institutions detach the attention of the wealthy, from the generous support of town schools, is it not to be feared that useful learning, instruction, and social feelings in the early part of life may cease to be so equal and universally disseminated as it has heretofore been."<sup>7</sup>

6a The academy was chartered under the name of Dummer Academy and was so known during the period covered in this article. For convenience the name now familiar is employed here.

7 Writings of Samuel Adams, Vol. LV, pp. 378-379, Putnam's, 1908.

Due largely to Adams' opposition no academies were chartered by the General Court in 1796. But in 1797 the General Court appointed a Committee to consider the passage of an act governing the conditions of land grants to the academies.<sup>8</sup> The Chairman of the Committee was Nathan Dane of Beverly. Apparently no biography of him has been written,<sup>8a</sup> and he is given only a few lines in encyclopaedias and dictionaries of biography. A. P. Peabody, in *Harvard Graduates I have Known*, states that he was on the committee that drew up the Northwest Ordinance of 1784; that he made a treaty with the Penobscot Indians in Maine in 1796, and that later he made a digest of Massachusetts laws.<sup>9</sup> Peabody does not mention his profound influence on the work of this committee on granting lands to the academies.

The Committee report was eminently practical. To give a whole township to each academy they considered too large a grant; they therefore proposed half townships, and these to be granted only on certain conditions. "No State lands ought to be granted to any Academy but in aid of permanent funds secured by towns and individuals"<sup>10</sup> totaling a value of \$3,000.00. In other words, evidence was required that funds were already secured to start the erection and maintenance of a school.

Second, the act required that "no academy ought to be encouraged unless it have a neighborhood to support it of at least 30,000 or 40,000 inhabitants, not accommodated in any manner by any College or School answering the purpose of an Academy."<sup>11</sup> The Committee had evidently noticed the bunching of Academies in the eastern part of Massachusetts, and the need for better distribution. For example, Haverhill Academy is said by one unconsciously facetious historian to have "the misfortune of being located in so favorable a location." (Governor Dum-

<sup>8</sup> For these acts and resolves, see chart.

<sup>8a</sup> See Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. 4:279; 15:391; 25:196; 70:385.

<sup>9</sup> A. P. Peabody, *Some Harvard Graduates I have Known*. Houghton Mifflin, 1890.

<sup>10</sup> Resolves Jan. Session 1796, Chap. 44, Approved Feb. 27, 1797.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

mer; Phillips Andover; Franklin; and Atkinson, New Hampshire, were all within a few miles of Haverhill.)

A third proviso is especially interesting. "That every portion of the Commonwealth ought to be considered equally entitled to grants of State land in aid of private donations."<sup>12</sup> In other words, the academies in the Berkshires and in the District of Maine were to be equally eligible with those in the eastern part of the Commonwealth,—in fact, more eligible, since the older part of Massachusetts already had so many schools that new ones would often lie within the population areas designated, and so not be eligible for state lands, unless by special legislative action. The total number of acres granted to academies in Maine was slightly more than that granted to academies in Massachusetts, about 228,000 acres to Maine academies, and about 220,000 acres to Massachusetts academies. If we add to this the grants to colleges in the two areas the difference is even greater, totaling 419,000 acres to Maine institutions, and 266,000 to those in Massachusetts.<sup>12a</sup>

The western part of Maine was fairly well, though not densely, settled in the southern area, and few grants were made there under the law of 1797. In the eastern part of the District, the land along the eastern bank of the Penobscot River had been acquired by purchase in the Indian Treaty that Nathan Dane had negotiated the year before the law about academy grants was passed.<sup>13</sup> The area thus acquired consisted of nine townships running about thirty miles up river from Eddington, and this land was reserved by the State in all academy grants. In addition to these lands certain other areas were not available, such as the Bingham purchases<sup>13a</sup> of 1,000,000 acres in

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12a</sup> S. B. Attwood, *Length and Breadth of Maine*, p. 30, Augusta, 1946.

<sup>13</sup> Resolves, 1796, p. 236.

<sup>13a</sup> Part of these lands had been sold by the Massachusetts government to General Lincoln after the Revolutionary War. They consisted of 1,000,000 acres on the upper Kennebec, and 1,000,000 more on the upper Penobscot. To these Lincoln added the Waldo Patent and what was left of the Lottery Lands, which he acquired from his wife's family. All this Lincoln transferred to William Bingham in 1793, on the sole condition

the upper Kennebec region; 942,000 acres not so clearly defined in northern Maine; and another 1,000,000 acres in Hancock and Washington Counties. All of these grants, plus the grants of individual townships for special reasons, like the grant of New Portland to those who lost their homes in the burning of Falmouth (Portland), limited very much the area available for academy grants.

In granting these lands the regular procedure was for the General Court to pass a Resolve that the academy whose petition for land was under consideration might have a half township in any part of the unappropriated lands in the province of Maine, except for the reserved lands already noted. Occasionally the county where the land was to be located was named, and in a few instances a more definite description was given, as in the grant to Lincoln Academy at Newcastle, Maine, in 1802;—"The gore of land between the Plymouth and Waldo claims, at the head of Damariscotta Pond."<sup>14</sup> This became the town of Jefferson.

Often the academy trustees were allowed to choose their land, and then register it with the Committee on the Sale of Eastern Lands. These land grants were "To be laid out at the expense of the grantees" and "under the direction of the Committee for the Sale of Eastern Lands,"<sup>15</sup> The grantees were to settle a certain number of families, usually ten or twenty, on the land in a given number of years; to set aside three lots, one for the first minister, one for the church, and one for a town school. In many of the grants was a proviso "That the annual income from same shall not exceed"—Taunton, £600; Fryeburg £1000; Farmington \$3000.

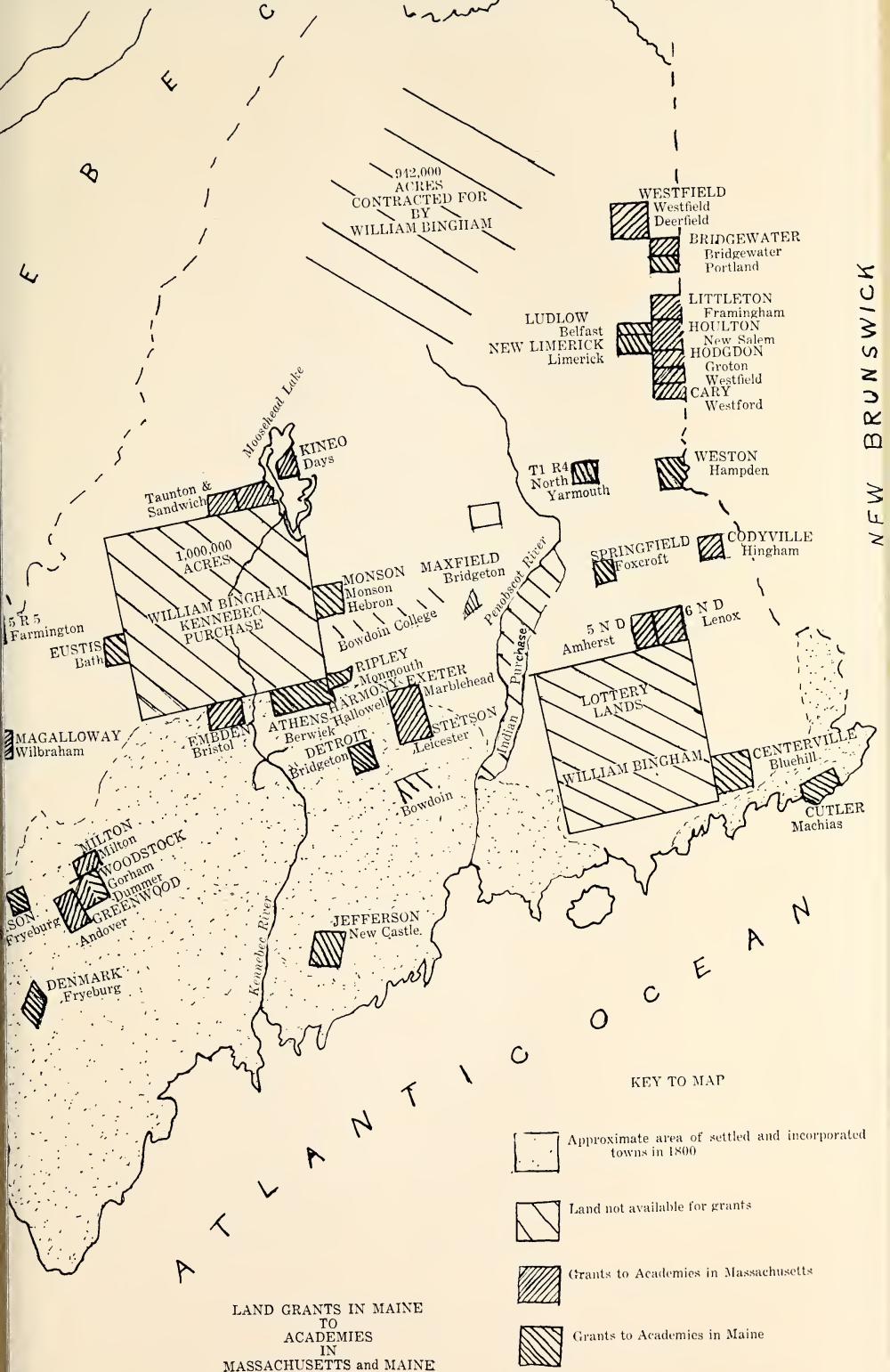
The Administration Office at Phillips Andover Academy provided the writer with figures covering the expenditures —

that Bingham get a release for Lincoln from his contract with Massachusetts. William Bingham was a wealthy official of the Philadelphia Bank, and President of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Corporation. He was interested in lands in New York as well as in Maine; Binghamton, New York, was named for him. (See article on Bingham Lands by W. Allen in Collections of Maine Historical Society, Vol. VII, First Series.)

<sup>14</sup> Acts and Resolves of Mass., 1805, Chap. 106, Jan. Session.





<sup>15</sup> Resolve, 1792, Chap. 64.





LAND GRANTS IN MAINE  
TO  
ACADEMIES  
IN  
MASSACHUSETTS and MAINE

KEY TO MAP

-  Approximate area of settled and incorporated towns in 1800
-  Land not available for grants
-  Grants to Academies in Massachusetts
-  Grants to Academies in Maine

Key to type

Upper case, name of Maine town—WESTFIELD  
Lower case, name of academy—Westfield



made by the Trustees on the land assigned them in Greenwood, Maine. Their records show the following expenses from 1805.<sup>16</sup>

1805	Surveying	\$193.66
1805	Work on roads	78.57
1807	" " "	100.33
1814	" " "	25.00
1806	For building mills	120.00
1806	Salaries and grants to Aug. 19	2675.72
	Taxes to Aug. 19	536.82

After all this expense we are glad to find that their estimate of the value of the land rose, for in August of 1815 there is an item, "Amount of sales of the land over & above that the Grant was first estimated, \$3,256.83."

In 1797, just after the law was passed, New Salem Academy was granted a half township in any part of the unappropriated lands in the Province of Maine, except for the lands regularly reserved by the State. A committee was sent out by the Trustees to "locate the land, and run the lines of the said land."<sup>17</sup> The committee found nothing they thought worthwhile, and returned to Bangor, to wait for a schooner that would take them back to Boston. They were dejectedly discussing the problem at the tavern in Bangor, when suddenly an old Indian who had seemed to be asleep opened his eyes, and said, "You give me much strong water, and me show you good land."

He did show them land that they liked, and on their return to Boston the deed was made out with the condition of settling ten families in six years. But their tract was located on the New Brunswick border, far from any other settlements, and it is not surprising that they found it difficult to dispose of the land. Finally a number of persons in New Salem, who had the interests of the Academy at heart, mortgaged their farms in New Salem, bought the land in Maine, and started out to settle there. New Salem lost some fine, public-spirited citizens when these men left. Soon after they passed Bangor they dismissed the Indian guide, for one of their number had

16 From manuscript records at Phillips Andover Academy.

17 Manuscript records at New Salem Academy.

made the trip when the land was chosen, and was sure he could find the way. But they became hopelessly lost, until, half starved, they came to a house which proved to be across the line in New Brunswick. There a kind woman fed them, and gave them directions, so that at last they found the location they were seeking. One of their number was a woman who had carried all the way from New Salem a basket containing her best china tea-set, packed with pillows to keep it from breaking. She was the first white woman to enter the place, so they decided to name their town for her—Houlton, now the county seat of Aroostook County.<sup>18</sup>

That it was not always easy for the academies to send out agents to locate land is well illustrated by petitions to have the time for locating land extended. Sandwich Academy had been granted a half township in the act of incorporation, 1802. In 1813, the trustees petitioned to have the time for locating the land extended; again in 1814, and again in 1819 they presented the same petition. Each time the extension was allowed. Finally in 1819 land was located and granted to them. In 1813, Westford Academy petitioned for more time to settle the required number of families on their land. In 1816, Belfast and Limerick academies also petitioned and were granted more time to complete settlements.

A number of academies already founded before the law of 1797, were immediately given land. Four of these academies had been discussed in the report of the Dane Committee: "It appears that Dummer's Academy in Newbury has legally secured to it a permanent fund for its support, by a private donor, to the amount of about six thousand dollars, and that Phillips Academy in Andover has a fund something larger secured in like manner"—and that each of these Academies was established in a proper situation.

"It appears that the Academies in Groton and Westford are about seven miles apart, both in the County of Middlesex, and with a neighborhood perhaps not so ade-

<sup>18</sup> E. Bullard, *History of New Salem Academy*, pp. 34-37, 1913.

quate as could be wished, to the support of two; that each of them has received the donations of towns and individuals to the amount of about twenty-five hundred dollars, and that each of them is now much embarrassed for want of funds—but both of these Academies have been incorporated and countenanced by the Legislature, and must be considered as fully adequate for the county of Middlesex though not situated as well as they might be for that purpose.

“On the whole the Committee propose an immediate grant of half a township of the description aforesaid to each of these four Academies.”<sup>19</sup>

In one resolution, of 1797, each of these academies was granted a half township: Governor Dummer Academy received half of what later became the town of Woodstock; Andover received half of what became the town of Greenwood, both towns in what is now Oxford County; Groton was given half of the Hodgdon on the New Brunswick boundary; and Westford was given the half township or plantation of Cary, just south of Hodgdon.

Other old academies hastened to fulfill the requirements of the law. Derby School in Hingham had been incorporated in 1794. The Trustees now sought and received a new incorporation as an academy, and were granted the township of Codyville in Washington County. Framingham Academy had opened in 1792, but had not been incorporated under the laws of the State. The act of incorporation in 1799, gave them half of the Township of Littleton in what is now Aroostook County. Portland Academy, incorporated in 1794, was given land by a resolve of 1799, and in 1803 received half of Bridgewater from the Committee. Westfield had voted in 1793 to raise funds for an academy, but had done little about it until the passage of Dane’s law spurred them on. They raised the funds required, and were promised a half township. Their academy did not open until 1800, and for some reason the grant was not confirmed by the Committee until 1806, when they were given half of Westfield on the New Brunswick border. Deerfield Academy received the other half.

<sup>19</sup> See chart.



The bill of 1797, had stated that there were five counties that had no academies: Barnstable, Nantucket, Dukes, and Norfolk in Massachusetts, and Hancock in the Province of Maine. To that number should be added Plymouth, for the charter of 1793 for an academy at the town of Plymouth had been withdrawn because no school had been opened. In 1799, Bridgewater in Plymouth County was chartered, and by the act of incorporation was granted half a township in Maine. In 1803, the Committee divided the township of Bridgewater between Bridgewater Academy and Portland Academy.

Often in counties where there was no academy, rivalry sprang up between towns which desired to have the school and the land grant. This is well illustrated in Norfolk County in Massachusetts and Hancock County in Maine. Norfolk County lies a little south of Boston, but strangely enough had no school of the academy type. Immediately after the passage of Dane's law in 1797, eight towns in the county held town meetings, appointed committees, started to raise the funds required under the terms of the law, and to prepare petitions to prove their town the best in all the county to have the school. These towns were—Roxbury, Dorchester, Brookline, Milton, Quincy, Braintree, Wrentham, and Franklin. Funds were promised by the subscribers on the condition that a half township in Maine should be granted by the legislature. The burden of choosing which of the eight towns should have the academy was assigned to a Committee of the General Court. They brought in a report that "the Town of Milton is the most proper Town to fix the Academy in."<sup>20</sup> In 1798, the act of incorporation of the charter of Milton Academy was passed, but, the academy was not opened until 1807, and the assigning of a land grant was delayed until 1811,<sup>21</sup> when they were given Milton Plantation in Oxford County.

The same type of rivalry in Hancock County, Maine, led to a petition from the citizens of Castine in 1803,

<sup>20</sup> R. H. Hall, *History of Milton Academy*, pp. 7-8, Milton, 1948.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* p. 17.

stating that \$3830.00 had been subscribed for the founding of an academy, "provided the General Court will endow said Academy with a half township of land. We would humbly beg leave to represent to your honors that we conceive great benefit would result to the County at large from the said Academy being established at Castine. At least the place has as many advantages as any town in the County, and many more than the towns in general. It is free of access both by land and water at all seasons of the year, and the peninsula on which it is proposed to erect the building is one of the most healthy spots in the United States. Such is the population that probably within a quarter mile good accommodations may be found for as many students as will ever be at the Academy."<sup>22</sup> But the Committee awarded the charter to Blue Hill, and made them a grant of land at Centerville in Washington County.

The year 1803 saw the founding of four academies: two in Massachusetts, Lenox and Bradford, and two in Maine, Gorham and Hampden. Three of them received land grants, but Bradford did not, since it was founded in an area where many academies already existed. The act read, "This act shall not be construed to entitle said Academy to any donation of public lands."<sup>23</sup> Lists of the academies and the land grants are in the accompanying chart, so not all of them are discussed in the body of this article.

Farmington Academy, Maine, was chartered in 1807. In 1810 they petitioned the General Court for a grant of land, and the petition is worth quoting, since it expresses so well the need for public aid: "A number of individuals in the town of Farmington, and its vicinity, anxious to afford the means of promoting piety and useful learning in this part of the Commonwealth, made voluntary subscriptions for the purpose of erecting an Academy building. Funds are now wanting for the support of suitable instructors . . . Your petitioners are sensible that the

<sup>22</sup> G. A. Wheeler, *History of Castine*, pp. 139-142, Bangor, 1825.

<sup>23</sup> *Acts and Resolves Massachusetts*. 1803. Chap. 75.

*donations of individuals are inadequate to carry the good intentions of the legislature into effect, that the benefits anticipated in the establishment of the institution can never be realized without your assistance.*"<sup>24</sup> (italics added) They received a grant in 1810, but in 1812 this was withdrawn, and a half township was given them, No. 5, Range 5, west of the Bingham Kennebec Purchase.

The records of the Trustees of the academies show that for years their chief concern was locating, surveying, and selling the land granted. Many complaints came in. Bridgeton found that the land granted them was claimed by the agent for the Penobscot Indians as a part of their grant.<sup>25</sup> In 1813, the Academy sent out an agent to explore a "gore" on the Piscataquis River, with the result that the Committee on Eastern Lands assigned them the triangular township of Maxfield that year. Canaan Academy, Maine, complained that the tract assigned them, Township 1, Range 3, west of the Bingham Kennebec Purchase, was worthless for cultivation, and good only for timber.<sup>26</sup> The Maine Register reports no population there in 1940.

Wilbraham came into the race for land late, when the Wesleyan Seminary was moved from Newmarket, N. H., to Wilbraham, Mass. They were incorporated in 1824 and were granted Township No. 1, Range 5 west of Bingham Kennebec lands, now known as Magalloway Plantation (reported without population in the Maine Register Census of 1940.) Considering the location it is not surprising to find the Trustees petitioning the General Court to remove the restrictions, "so that a selection may be made from any unappropriated land belonging to the State, also that trustees shall not be under the necessity of getting settlers in given time, and in case this cannot be done to ask for a whole township." Later that year the trustees' records state that the General Court had

<sup>24</sup> F. G. Butler, History of Farmington, Maine, p. 95, Farmington, 1885.

<sup>25</sup> A. S. Kimball, Historical Address at Reunion, 1882, p. 32, Bridgeton, 1882.

<sup>26</sup> R. A. Wray, Secondary Education in Cumberland and Sagadahoc Counties. Maine University Bulletin XLIII, Aug., 1940.

complied with their request, and they appointed a Committee to sell the land. In 1830, they voted if the land could not be sold for \$5000 to petition the legislature to take the land and give the Academy money. In 1831, the land was sold, the proceeds amounting not to the \$5000.00 desired, but to \$3254.76.<sup>27</sup>

When in 1820 the District of Maine was separated from Massachusetts, the General Court insisted on certain terms regarding the public lands in the northern part of the new state. These conditions, embodied in Chapter CLXI of the Acts of Massachusetts of 1819, became Section 5 of Article 10 of the Constitution of the new State of Maine, and read:

"All lands belonging to the Commonwealth within the District of Maine shall belong, one half thereof to the said Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the other half to the State to be formed.

"Commissioners shall be appointed with full power and authority to divide the public lands within the district between the respective states in equal shares or moieties in severalty having regard to quantity, situation, and quality."

Massachusetts was thus able to continue granting lands in Maine after the separation. One of the earliest grants was to Hopkins Academy in Hadley, Mass. The school at Hadley had been called the Donation School, because it was founded under the donation for education in the Colonies in the will of Edwin Hopkins who died in England in 1657. Not until 1817 did the trustees of the school petition for a charter as an academy, to be called the Hopkins Academy, and for a grant of land. The petition was granted, and in 1820, a Resolve of the General Court gave a half township of land, "from any of the unappropriated lands in the state of Maine, which on the division of said lands shall fall to the share of this Commonwealth."<sup>28</sup>

One of the latest of these grants by Massachusetts was to Wilbraham Academy. The Academy had already re-

27 Records of Trustees, Manuscript at Wilbraham Academy.

28 Mass. Acts and Resolves, 1820, Chap. 5 of Resolves.



ceived one grant, but in 1848 the institution was sadly in debt, and applied to the General Court of Massachusetts, asking a grant of \$25,000. The General Court at first refused, but later made a grant in an unusual manner. They did not give a definite township, but promised the Academy half the proceeds from the sale of the next township disposed of. This had the advantage that it relieved the Academy of the responsibility of surveys, road building, and so forth. They received for the land \$12,000.00.<sup>29</sup>

One of the grants made to an academy by the Maine State Legislature is of peculiar interest, because of the reaction from the Dartmouth College Case. An Academy had been opened in North Yarmouth, (now Yarmouth) Maine in 1810, and chartered by the Massachusetts government in 1814. In 1826 they asked the Maine legislature for a land grant. But the Dartmouth College Case, decided in favor of the College, would limit the power of the State legislatures over chartered educational institutions; so, by way of subtle persuasion, the Trustees added to their regulations a rule giving the State Legislature the right to "grant further powers, to alter them, or restrain any of the powers vested in the trustees." With this for surety that the Dartmouth College Case could not be used as precedent in relation to this particular academy, and for a possible example to other academies, the State granted to North Yarmouth Academy the southern half of Township 1, Range 4, in what is now Aroostook County. The grant is still named on many maps as the North Yarmouth Academy Grant.<sup>30</sup>

A study of the map shows that with few exceptions these academy grants were in the eastern part of Maine, many of them quite far north along the New Brunswick boundary. Evidently the state was granting lands of little value because of their distance from the coast, and from settled areas, and at the same time was trying to get that boundary region peopled, for settlements would be of great

29 Records of Trustees, Manuscript at Wilbraham Academy.

30 W. H. Rowe, History of Ancient North Yarmouth, p. 306, Yarmouth, 1937.



importance when the disputed line was finally determined. The records of the Trustees at New Salem Academy show a frantic fear lest their land might be lost when the boundary should finally be decided. They voted an appeal to the General Court for compensation if the final boundary should divide their grant of Houlton.<sup>31</sup> Maine hoped that these grants would bring in settlers. The Governor's message of 1821, speaks of a desire to "check the tide of emigration to the West, and turn its current toward our own state."<sup>32</sup>

To get a grant of land was good; to sell it for cash was better, but not easy to accomplish; we have seen the difficulties that New Salem found in her attempts to sell. On maps today some of the grants are still named as "Day's Academy Grant," etc.; but though the name still stands, in some cases the land has been sold, as for example, the North Yarmouth Academy Grant.

The price per acre is said to have averaged 50¢, but the extremes varied from \$2.00 an acre for the Hallowell Academy land, to 20¢ an acre for the Lenox land. The story of Lenox Academy's attempt to get a fair price is pitiful. In 1810, they refused to put the land on the market, saying the prices were too low. In 1811, they declared they would not sell for less than 50¢ an acre. In 1812, they lowered the price to 40¢; in 1815, to 25¢; and in 1821, they finally sold for 20¢ an acre.<sup>33</sup> (See chart for other prices received.)

How the money realized from the sale of these land grants was invested proved a difficult problem, to which the present writer found an answer in only two cases. If any reader can furnish further information it would be much appreciated. North Yarmouth Academy in 1826 bought shares in the newly founded Canal Bank in Portland, a bank organized to finance the Cumberland and Oxford Canal. The bank is still operating as the Canal

31 Records of Trustees, Manuscript at New Salem.

32 Governor's Message, In Resolves of Legislature of State of Maine, 1820-1825.

33 Lenox Centennial, p. 22. Seventy-first Anniversary Program Pittsfield, 1905.

National Bank.<sup>33a</sup> Fryeburg Academy sold much of her land on mortgages, on many of which they failed to collect.<sup>33b</sup>

A comparison between the academy townships and those in the Bingham purchases raises several questions. The Aroostook purchase is so far north, and even today so unpopulated that we will confine the comparison to the other Bingham purchases, the one known as the Kennebec Purchase, and the one made up of the Lottery Lands.

COMPARISON OF ACADEMY LANDS AND BINGHAM LANDS  
Population figures from Census of 1940 in Maine State Register

	Number of townships granted Number with population over 1000			Number with population 100-999			Number with population under 100			No. Pop.	%
			% of whole			% of whole			% of whole		
Academy Lands	38	4	10.5%	20	52.6%	7	18.4%	7	18.4%		
Bingham Lands	72	2	2.7	17	23.3	20	27.7	47	65.2		

Some of the Academy lands were as far north as the unpopulated Bingham lands in the Aroostook. Why have so large a proportion of them achieved a fair population, while the Bingham townships have not? There are several possible answers. In the first place the academy agents chose the best township they could find in the area open to them, while the Bingham lands were large areas including good, bad, and indifferent lands. Much of the time William Bingham and his heirs were in England, leaving agents to manage the lands for them. Naturally the agents took less interest in developing and selling the land than did the Academy trustees, who, like those at Andover, were anxious to develop and sell the lands for the benefit of a much loved school.

33a Records of the Trustees of North Yarmouth Academy, now deposited at the Maine State Historical Society, Portland.

33b "Statement of facts" in connection with petition for land in 1850 after a disastrous fire at Fryeburg. Copied for me at State House, Augusta. And Records of Trustees of Fryeburg Academy at the Academy.

In 1854, Maine bought from Massachusetts any public lands that were still unassigned, but by that time the High School movement was well under way.

These land grants, made under the wise legislation of 1797, certainly gave an impetus to the movement for founding academies in the days before laws to require all towns to have High Schools would have been feasible or acceptable to the citizens. Many of the schools still function under the old academy name, but also serve under the laws of the present day as free public High Schools for their towns. The academy was then, a real link between the old system of common schools, and the new system carrying free education through the High School. As long ago as 1858, Charles Upham, chairman of a joint committee on education in the Massachusetts legislature, recognized the value of the principles established by the report of Nathan Dane and his committee of 1797, saying, "the [academies] were really regarded as in many respects and to a considerable extent as Public Schools, part of an organized system of public and universal education, as opening the way for all the people to a higher order of instruction than the Common School can supply, and that they were to be distributed, as nearly as may be, so as to accommodate the different districts or localities of the State according to the measure of population."<sup>34</sup> But without the land grants this connecting link between the old and the new could hardly have come into existence.

A comparison between the academies founded in Massachusetts and Maine on the one hand, and Connecticut on the other suggests another possible influence of these land grants.

	Number of academies founded before 1830 <sup>35</sup>	Number of these academies named in Sargent's <i>Handbook of Private Schools</i>	% of whole number
Maine	33	7	21%
Massachusetts	55	11	20%
Connecticut	25	3	12%

<sup>34</sup> Forty-ninth Report of State Board of Education in Massachusetts, 1859, p. 77.

<sup>35</sup> Statistics for academies existing in 1830 are taken from

Why did so many of these academies survive in Maine and Massachusetts and so few in Connecticut? Surely the foundation of a permanent endowment started by the sale of these land grants is part of the answer.

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E. D. Grizzell *Origin and Development of the High School in New England before 1865*, Macmillan 1923, page 31, where he quotes from the Quarterly Register and Journal of the American Education Society. Vol. II, p. 237.

# CHART OF LAND GRANTS TO ACADEMIES

Name of Academy	Date Inc.	Date of opening <sup>1</sup>	Land by Act of Inc. or Resolve	Date	Comm. Action <sup>2</sup>	Land granted half township unless italicized	Price received <sup>3</sup>
PHILLIPS ANDOVER	1780	1778	Resolve	1797	1800	Greenwood	
GOVERNOR DUMMER	1782	1763	Resolve	1797	1800	Woodstock	
LEICESTER	1784	1784	Resolve	1792	1793	Steiton	\$9,000.004
MARBLEHEAD	1791	1798	Resolve	1792	1793	<i>Eaeter</i>	
WASHINGTON at Machias Me.	1791	1823	Inc.	1791	1793	<i>Outler</i>	5,600.005
BERWICK	1791		Resolve	1791	1794	<i>Athens</i>	
HALLOWELL	1790		Resolve	1791	1793	<i>Harmony</i>	2,099.006
FRYEBURG	1791		Inc.	1791	1795	Mason	
			Resolve	1792	1793	Denmark	
			Inc.	1792	1795	<i>Emdden</i>	
BRISTOL at Taunton	1792	1796	Resolve	1796	1802	Hodgdon	
GROTON	1793		Resolve	1796	1802	Cary	
WESTFORD	1793		Resolve	1798	1803	Bridgewater	4,000.007
PORTLAND	1793		Resolve	1797	1806	Westfield	5,000.008
WESTFIELD	1794		Resolve	1797	1805	Houlton	
NEW SALEM	1797	1784	Resolve	1803	1805	Codyville	
DERBY at Hingham	1797		Resolve	1797	1806	Westfield	
DEERFIELD	1796		Resolve	1797	1811	Milton	
MILTON	1797	1807	Inc.	1797	1803	Bridgewater	5,000.009
BRIDGEWATER	1798		Inc.	1798	1803	Littleton	5,000.0010
FRAMINGHAM	1798	1792	Inc.	1798	1802	Jefferson	
LINCOLN at Newcastle	1800	1805	Resolve	1802	1806	6 N D	
LENOX	1802		Inc.	1802	1807	Centerville	6,150.0011
BLUEHILL	1802		Resolve	1803	1806	Woodstock	
GORHAM	1802		Resolve	1803	1807	Weston	5,740.0012
HAMPDEN	1802		Resolve	1803	1805		



# CHART OF LAND GRANTS TO ACADEMIES (Cont.)

Name of Academy	Date Inc.	Date of opening <sup>1</sup>	Land by Act of Inc. or Resolve	Date	Date of Comm. Action <sup>2</sup>	Land granted half township unless italicized	Price received <sup>3</sup>
SANDWICH	1803		Inc.	1803	1819	T1 R3 WBKP <sup>12a</sup>	
MONSON	1804		Resolve	1804	1811	Monson	
HEBRON	1803		Resolve	1804	1811	Monson	2,500.0013
BATH	1804		Inc.	1804	1805	Eustis	8,050.0014
DAYS at Wrentham	1805		Resolve	1810	1816	Hudson	
FARMINGTON	1807	1812	Resolve "	1810 1812	1821	Kineo	
BRIDGETON	1808		Inc.	1808	1813	5 R 5 instead of grant of 1810	1,500.0015
PHILLIPS at Limerick	1808	1811	Inc.	1808	1810	Maxfield	5,000.0016
BELFAST	1808		Inc.	1808	1810	New Limerick	
MONMOUTH	1809		Resolve	1810	1811	Ludlow	\$7,264.0017
					1812	Ripley	
NORTH YARMOUTH	1814	1810	Resolve	1826 (approved)		Detroit	9,000.0018
AMHERST	1816		Resolve	1820		T1 R4	
HOPKINS at Hadley	1816	1759	Resolve	1820	1822	5 N D	2,500.0019
						Hopkins Academy Grant	
WILBRAHAM	1824		Inc.			T 1 R 5	3,254.0020
						WBKP	

<sup>1</sup> If not same as incorporation.

<sup>2</sup> From S. B. Atwood, Length and Breadth of Maine, Augusta, Maine, 1946, p. 30, with some corrections made by Dept. of Archives, Boston.

- 3 Prices were found for comparatively few land sales. Presumably many were sold in small lots.
- 4 Address by Ebenezer Craft, 71st Anniversary Program, Leicester.
- 5 E. L. Linscott, History of Secondary Education in Washington and Hancock Counties, University of Maine Bulletin, XXXIX, No. 12, May, 1937.
- 6 J. T. Champlin, Educational Institutions in Maine While a District of Mass., Collections of Maine Historical Society, Vol. VIII, 1879.
- 7 Wells, History of Portland, p. 741, Portland, 1865.
- 8 T. J. Abernethy, History of Westfield Academy, Manuscript in Westfield Athenaeum.
- 9 N. Mitchell, History of Early Settlement of Bridgewater, Boston, 1840.
- 10 J. C. Temple, History of Framingham, 1887.
- 11 See Note 6.
- 12 P. E. Keith, History of Secondary Education in Penobscot County, University of Maine Bulletin No. 12, 1948.
- 12a WBKP, West of Bingham Kennebec Purchase.
- 13 J. C. Hyles, History of Secondary Education in York and Oxford Counties. University of Maine Bulletin, XXXVI No. 44, Dec., 1933.
- 14 See Note 6.
- 15 R. W. Healy, History of Secondary Education in Androscoggin and Franklin Counties. Maine University Bulletin No. 12, April, 1941.
- 16 See Note 6.
- 17 J. Williamson, Belfast, p. 329, Houghton Mifflin, 1913.
- 18 W. H. Rowe, Ancient North Yarmouth, p. 306, Yarmouth, 1937.
- 19 F. Tuckerman, History of Amherst Academy, Amherst, 1929.
- 20 Records of Trustees. Manuscript at Wilbraham Academy.

THE DAILY LIFE OF  
MRS. NATHANIEL KINSMAN IN CHINA, 1846

Contributed by Mrs. Rebecca Kinsman Munroe

(Continued from Volume LXXXVII, page 409)

Macao 9th Mo. 19th 1846

My beloved Sister:

. . . Uncle Henry has been removed from works to rewards—dear good man—we cannot mourn his loss, but trust & doubt not he is far happier than it was possible for him to be in this world. Now I am quite alone with the children for the first time since I came to China! My last letter by mail was sent by Mrs. Delano. I felt very sad, as thee may suppose at parting with so dear a friend. The day after her departure I had an attack of fever. I sent for Dr. Watson—He came—advised to leeches on the temples, as the pain in my head was violent, very kindly he came in himself, and applied the leeches, as the good old coolie has become superannuated & been pensioned off & his successor is very awkward. Wm. Robinson came over for a visit, & by previous invitation from my husband & self, made his home here. . . . While he was here, the *Ianthe* stopped here two or three days & her Supercargo Richard Rogers, & his brother Jacob & Mr. Cunningham came on shore, & they all staid here. I enjoyed their visit very much. Richard Rogers is a splendid young man. . . . He has several articles entrusted to his care for you by my husband in Canton, and a present for dear Father which I am sure he will like if it gets home safely, viz: a large Bamboo Chair, in which I trust dear Father will take much comfort. He may like it the better for knowing that it stood on our Verandah. Messrs. Moore, Bull, Parkin & T. Nye came down after the last mail. (The arrival & departure of the mail regulates everybody's movements now), and Macao was very lively while they were here. We had several pleasant walks, some evening visits & a pic-nic at Green Island,<sup>1</sup> the latter by invitation of Messrs. Bull & Nye. Now they have all returned. . . . Nathaniel fancies M. &

1 Green Island—"a little rocky island called Isla Verde or Green Island, belonging to the Padres of Saint Paul, or the Jesuits—covered with fruit trees." — Travels of Peter Mundy—1637.



CAPT. NATHANIEL KINSMAN

Who died and was buried in Macao, in 1847





Ecce safely with you about the 5 inst. I did so a few days earlier, in time to write as of their arrival by the 1st. Sept. Steamer. Oh how happy I shall be to know that the darlings are safe at home once more. . . . I will conclude for the present, after mentioning one very sad event that has taken place, viz: the death of John Rogers, Son of John Rogers of Salem, Commander of the *Petrel*. He died at Woosung the port of Shanghai of fever, and my husband has the melancholy duty to perform of giving the information of this sad event to his friends at home. Death performs his work faithfully everywhere, with you & with us, one is taken here another there, may we be also ready. The American Ship *Agnes* has come in today. She comes, I think, from New York & has had a long passage, brings as passengers the Capt's wife and Mr. & Mrs. Ryan of Philadelphia with 6 children!! Dr. Watson's wife has at length arrived after a very long passage and the poor doctor's anxiety is at an end. I must not forget to tell thee of the valuable presents I have received, & one of which I am sure thee will be glad to hear, a *fine cow* from Mr. Delano, he left word to have it sent to me after his departure. This is the *fourth cow* I have had, so that I don't place much dependence upon her living, but as she was *born here*, she will be more likely to live than an imported animal. She is five years old, & a beautiful animal, has a calf now a week old, so that we shall have plenty of milk, of which both children are extremely fond. Mr. D. also sent to me for Abbott, Susie's carriage. It is a little barouche which came from Calcutta, & Abbott is highly pleased with riding in it. . . . Abbott talks a great deal and holds long conversation in Chinese with his Ammah of which I cannot understand a word. He wears short dresses & short frocks and has worn drawers all summer & looks very cunning. . . . Mrs. Forbes has been to call on Mrs. Watson & Mrs. Ryan. They say Mrs. R. has 6 children, one an *infant* and *no nurse or servant*—her husband has gone to Canton & left her at the hotel, taking the eldest son with him. Is she not to be pitied? Perhaps it is my duty to invite her here, but it seems almost too much. I shall call & see her as soon as I can go out, and will do anything in my power for her. Mrs. Forbes has two of the children at her house to pass to-day & Natty has gone in to play with them. . . . Here comes old "Watch" for a caress. Have I told thee how the faithful old animal has attached himself to me since John & Ecce left? I feel that he is quite a safeguard for me at night, as

his sense of hearing is very quick & no stranger can enter the house, without his barking violently. . . . Mr. Osborne mentions two young ladies, daughters of a Danish Merchant born at Manila, but sent home to Denmark some years ago for their education, now returned at the ages of 15 & 17 very accomplished, can speak & write fluently English, French, Spanish & Danish. He says what would be thought in *Salem* of a young lady who could speak & write *four* languages? This is attributable he says not to any particular aptitude in the ladies themselves, but to the superior advantages afforded by the Schools of Denmark, I have heard before of their superiority. There is a Danish Merchant at H-Kong, a Mr. Duns (?) partner at present of Mr. Rawle, who has two Sons sent home for their education, & I have heard him speak of the schools of Copenhagen, & judged by his description that they must be very superior to any that we can boast in the U. States. We have plenty of ice this summer, or since the Ice Ship arrived, the *Helen Augusta*. Mr. Dunam has an Ice house and people are supplied at 6 cts a lb. This sounds like a large price to you, but we are very glad to get it at that. Last summer we were obliged to pay 7 cts at Hong-Kong & then it often wasted one half in coming over. Mrs. Ritchie I believe has ice creams every day nearly. She has two cows & of course an abundance of milk. Mrs. Forbes too has them very often & water Ices also, these are the juices of fruits frozen, pineapple is very delicious. . . . "The Feast of Lanthorns" comes on this week & it has been rumored at Canton that a popular outbreak might be expected; as a precautionary measure the *Nemesis* (war Steamer) has been anchored in front of the factories, but my husband writes me that Dr. Bridgman who took tea with him a few evenings since told him, that he thought there was no reason to apprehend a disturbance, as the greater majority of the populace were peaceably disposed, & that as far as he could ascertain, the placards which had been pasted about on the walls &c, were base fabrications. I hope there may be no further disturbance & I have very little fear, since the Mob received such a severe drubbing the last time they attempted a *row*. I did not tell thee I think of Dr. Bridgman's narrow escape. After the last riot, the city authorities of Canton requested that foreigners would remain within their own premises for a time, as the populace was so much excited, that they could not secure them against an attack, if they ventured among them. A very reasonable request

surely. Dr. Bridgman, his wife & some of their friends notwithstanding went to visit the famous temple at Honam, where they were attacked by volleys of stones, then they went to some other place & in passing under a bridge in their boat, an immense stone weighing nearly 100 lbs. was thrown down upon them, which had it struck upon the bottom of the boat, must have broken a hole through, & they would probably have been drowned, but the tide being against them, the boat went under more slowly than the enemy calculated & the stone was thrown down a little too soon to effect their purpose, & struck upon a very heavy beam. Their escape was indeed providential. This was more than a month ago. Since then everything has been quiet, except 3 attempts to set fire to "No. 1 American," Olyphant & Co's factory, but they have discovered that these were made by one of their own servants.

*6th day eve'g 25th* I had a juvenile party, 3 of the newly arrived little Ryans, Ella F., the little Bushes, Ellen Ritchie, & Emilia Rawle, they passed the day & seemed to enjoy themselves highly. Mary Ryan had lost her doll overboard, so I gave her one which my dear Ecce left behind and she was much pleased with it. "The Feast of Lanthorns" has just now commenced, & Nathaniel says the streets are illuminated by chandeliers hung across them at not more than two yds. apart, for their whole length. They must look very brilliant. They do not seem to be apprehensive of any disturbance, altho' some inflammatory placards have been put up in the streets, but they are thought to be forgeries, & not expressive of the real feelings of the people. . . . Natty dined & took tea with his little friends next door to-day, indeed he takes tea with them nearly every evening. They go out to walk together every evening, & when they come home, it is so pleasant for them to take supper together, & they have at tea time, a table by themselves, that I generally allow him to go—at dinner they always eat with the family & behave like men & women. Yesterday I was extremely amused to hear Natty ask little Arthur Ryan at dinner to "drink absent friends," and they did it so prettily & gracefully with their glasses of water. Natty has had a part of his fireworks set off tonight & they were extremely pretty. The children all assemble on the Verandah, while the boys or Coolies who are much interested, set fire to them in the yard below. . . . Dearest love to Father, Mother, brothers & Sisters, Uncle, Aunt, Cousins & friends

Thy own Rebecca.

Macao 9th mo. 28th 1846.

Second day Evening

This is the day for the mail to leave Hong-Kong, my darling sister, or rather tomorrow. . . . I am feeling very happy today, in the expectation of seeing my dear husband tomorrow. I received a letter from him this morning, saying that he should leave at midnight in the *Corsair* for Hong-Kong, with the mail, and come over to Macao in the steamer tomorrow, thinking by that means to get here sooner than to come by fast-boat direct—How mistaken! There was a strong north wind blowing all night and the boats came down with unusual speed, arriving as I said before at 10 A. M. Dr. and Mrs. Parker arrived down in the morning from Canton, but did not as I had expected come to stay with me but decided to go to Mr. Delano's house, the use of which, Mr. D. had offered to Dr. P. before he left. So the Doctor is there, awaiting the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Everett whom he will invite there on their arrival and then if they please they can retain the house and take the furniture, which will be a very great convenience to them. I finished my letters just in time to go to Mrs. Forbes' to dine by previous engagement, taking Natty with me. . . . I believe I have told thee that we read a chapter in the Bible every morning after breakfast. Mary Rawle and I talked till dinner time, when we took our quiet meal, does thee wish to know what we had? I hope this letter won't be read by any but loving friends because it would sound to others so supremely silly. Well, Mullicatawney Soup—broiled fowl and pork chops, curried fowl and rice, bread pudding, plantains and persimmons. Coffee. . . . It is so pleasant to have my husband here once more. Seventh day 3d. Mrs. Ritchie gave a general party in the evening, which was quite large, the Governor, French Consul and several English gentlemen being present. A handsome supper table was spread and we had on this occasion the *last of the Ice in China*, or in this Southern part of it, the Canton supply having given out last week, and the Hong Kong one still sooner. It was a great disappointment to us, for we had been told there was an abundant supply to last through cold weather, but Mr. Durran from some cause or other, feared combustion and opened the large doors of the Ice house, when alas—the moment the air entered, the Ice disappeared like vapour and was not. Was it not singular? Mary Rawle looked particularly pretty this evening dressed in white muslin and with much taste. Mrs. Forbes



too looked elegantly. The Ice-cream was delicious and abundant, perhaps we enjoyed it the more from knowing it was the last we could have, till another cargo of Ice arrives, which will not be before April. Dr. and Mrs. Parker were not at the party, as there is a difficulty between them and the Ritchies. Third day 6th. Early this morning the *Cohota* arrived, Mr. Forbes sent off for the letter bag, and several missionaries came ashore on his boat the *Raven* and brought the certain intelligence that Mrs. Everett was on board. It is very singular that no letter from *any one at home to any one here* has ever mentioned her having embarked with her husband. Dr. Parker and Mr. Forbes (who is Consul) went off after breakfast to see Wm. Everett and the Governor sent his Barge to bring the minister and his lady on shore. Mr. Everett landed without ceremony, plainly dressed, Mr. Forbes and my husband met him at the landing and accompanied him to Mr. F's house. I went in in the evening, and gave Mrs. Everett, Mary Foote's *old* letter, which she sent out for her when she left before for China, a year and a half ago, but which was notwithstanding its old date very acceptable. Fourth day 7th. Mr. E. called on the Governor today to pay his respects, in full dress—and a salute was fired by the fort on the occasion, instead of at his landing yesterday. Nathaniel and self took tea with Mrs. E. at Mrs. Forbes', passed a pleasant evening.

Macao Oct. 21st. 1846

Wednesday Eve'g.

My dear Husband—

I have been at home all day, until after dinner, when I went out, and called to see Mrs. Stewart, found her much better, but not in a very pleasant state of feeling, on account of the Everetts having left, without having returned any calls, or even sending cards. She said she did not know whether *Republicans* considered it necessary to be *rude*; hinted very broadly at thy neglect in not returning Mr. Somebody's call, I don't know whose. She did not mention thee, but observed in connection with her remarks upon Mr. Everett, that Mr. Delano did not return Capt. Bruce's call & that she considered very rude, & determined that no friend of hers, should thenceforth ever enter his doors. Of course, having heard before of her mentioning to Mr. Wetmore the



fact of thy not returning some one's call, I knew it was all intended for me.—Maskee— . . . Thy own loving

*Wife*

Macao 10th Mo. 22d 1846

Fifth day morning

My dearest of Sisters—

I was very glad to hear of thy having taken Willie to the country. A journey by stage must have been a most agreeable variety in these days of railroads and steamboats, & to be for a time among Mountain Scenery at that delightful season of the year, most refreshing & invigorating. I hope dear Willie did not prove a very troublesome charge to thee. I notice what you say of the "Estate of Lord Townley,"<sup>1a</sup> but I have not much faith in anything ever being realized from it. If there is any hope of it, I think dear *Stebeney* had better go *over* & look after it. We shall look with even more than usual anxiety for the arrival of the next mail, tho' I shall not confidently expect to hear of the *Douglas* arrival before December, I hope & trust my dear child is now safely & happily with you, and feeling quite at home again. . . . Nathaniel came on the 30th Sept. and remained nearly two weeks. While he was here, there was a riot in Macao. Our Governor imposed a tax of a dollar a month upon each fast boat coming into this harbour. The boatmen refused to pay it, alleging that the Governor had no right to impose it upon them. The Chinese all, as their custom is, took part with their aggrieved countrymen & made a common cause of it. The shopmen closed the shops, the Bazaar or market was shut & all supplies stopped & an attack made upon the town by a numerous body of Chinese. The Governor acted with great decision & energy, it seemed to me at the time with unnecessary severity, but it is generally thought to have been required by the emergency of the occasion, & had the Chinese come off conquerors, it would not have been well for us I fancy. The attacking party were repulsed with considerable loss. Some 50 killed at the smallest computation and as many wounded mortally. Several fast boats were burned & many were sunk. These last it is said can be raised & repaired. This took place on Fifth day, the 8th inst. The Governor gave the Shopmen till next day at noon to open

<sup>1a</sup> Rumors of an English fortune left to the Chase family—Mrs. Kinsman's family.

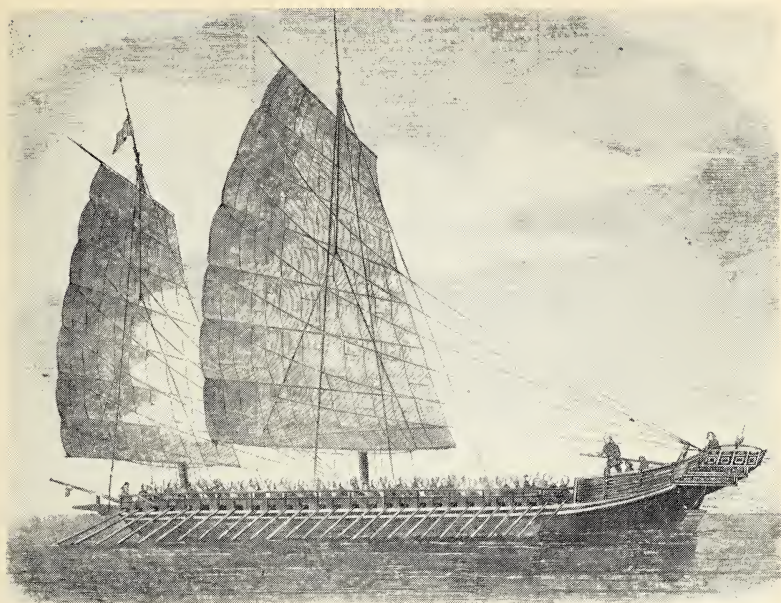
the Bazaar & their shops; if not done he threatened to open them at the point of the bayonet. Next morning he sent a company of soldiers into the Bazaar, & the shops were very soon all open as usual & the Military withdrew. Immediately, a company of ladrones (robbers) attacked the shopmen in revenge for their yielding obedience to the Governor's commands, but the military, returning, soon dispersed them; one man was taken who was recognized as a notorious thief. On the first day of the riot matters looked very serious, our Governor sent a message to Gov. Davis at H-Kong requesting assistance & next morning the Steamer *Vulture* made her appearance in the roads, having on board two hundred of the Royal Irish, a favourite regiment, fortunately their services were not needed. That was one of the most exciting days I ever knew. . . . At one time columns of dense smoke filled the air, & it was reported that the Chinese had set fire to the town, but we soon found that it—the smoke—arose from the burning boats. Several fast boats burned & many were sunk. Reports of cannon & musketry were in our ears throughout the day. The people would not have felt the tax at all as they might have assessed it upon the passengers, but they contended that the Governor had no right to levy a tax upon the Chinese. He on his part contended that they were here under the protection of the Portuguese flag,<sup>2</sup> & that they ought to contribute toward the support of the government or of the troops, which was not unreasonable. The government here is very poor, the income arising from duties having been stopped since Macao became a free port. It is said all the foreign residents are to be heavily taxed which will be a serious evil, in addition to our already enormous expenses. The Chinese fought bravely, it is said, but as usual without system & without leaders & without firearms, having only spears. Not *one* Portuguese was killed. The Mandarins have been to the Governor, & have published a Chop disapproving & condemning the conduct of the populace, and now within a day or two it is said the Boatmen have sent in a request to the Governor for their broken boats, promising to submit & pay the tax, which is certainly not an oppressive one. I hope

2 Macao, the tip end of the island of Heungshan, belonging to China, is the oldest European settlement in the Far East—first settled in 1537 by the Portuguese. In 1557 the Portuguese were officially given permission to remain by virtue of an annual rental. The Portuguese sovereignty was finally recognized by China in 1887—(National Geographic).

the report is true and that the Governor will grant their request, for we miss beyond measure the regular communication between this place & Canton & H-Kong. Since the riot, we have been dependent on the *Raven* & *Grace Darling*, sailboats belonging to Mr. Forbes & Mr. Bush, & on the occasional trips of Lorchas & Schooners. The *Raven* and *Grace* both happened very fortunately to be here at the time of the riot & the latter was kept running regularly between this & H-Kong as a messenger boat for several days. In case of necessity, they would have taken the ladies off. The Governor says if there is any further disturbance, he will drive every Chinaman except the house servants out of the city. . . . Our servants were woefully disappointed at the result of the *experiment*. They expected their Countrymen would come off victorious & for several days they were sullen & depressed. The Chinese say "Before have play pigeon—this have *true* pigeon." . . . The *Vincennes* arrived here about a week since, having been up the Coast & together with the *Columbus* paid a visit to Japan. Capt. Paulding gave me a very interesting account of their visit *off* Japan, for they were not allowed to land,<sup>3</sup> when some 30 miles from the Capital City, Jeddo, numerous boats came off, and a Mandarin of some distinction, to beg them to anchor where they were, and not attempt to approach nearer. They however did not anchor just there, but went as they judged within about 20 miles of the city, and within a mile of the shore. They remained there ten days & Commodore Biddle had an interview with a high Mandarin by means of a Dutch interpreter, but all requests to be permitted to land were refused. They were treated with much kindness & all their wants supplied—wood, water & provisions given them, as much as were wanting & no remuneration would be accepted. Capt. P. & his officers describe them as being a much more intellectual people than the Chinese, & much finer looking. Nothing seems to have been gained by the visit, but people think Japan must & will open her ports before long. The French had an embassy there just before our Ships went, but the Admiral not having authority from his government to *force* an entrance, was obliged to leave without accomplishing anything, but threatened to return shortly with more

3 The Dutch were the only people with whom the Japanese would trade. The Spanish were barred in 1624, and the Dutch carried on trade from the 17th century until Commodore Perry opened Japan in 1854.





CHINESE PIRATE BOAT AT CANTON



LANDING PLACE AND ENTRANCE TO THE TEMPLE OF HONAN, CANTON





authority, all this will be published, so I will not occupy my paper with it. Nathaniel went upon the 13th in the Am. brig. *Glide*. He was very fortunate in obtaining so good an opportunity, now that fast-boats are not to be had, and ships are rare. . . . Thee may recollect my having mentioned Mrs. Devan, a Missionary lady at Canton, very lovely & interesting, a young person & truly consistent & exemplary Christian—she is dead! She was the daughter of a Mr. Hale, well known as the Editor of one of the New York journals. Every mail for several months has taken home accounts of the death of someone here to loving hearts at home. She had acquired a very good knowledge of the language, & was studying it assiduously. She forbade strictly her remains being taken home, & desired particularly that no memoir or eulogy of her should be published, as is often done with Missionaries. . . . Farewell dearest Sister, my best love to our dear Parents, brothers & sisters, to dear Willie & Ecce.

Thy truly affectionate Sister  
Rebecca

Eleventh Mo. 1st. First day—This morning I was surprised by a visit from Capt. Silver of the *Navigator*. He made a call & engaged to return to dinner. I had no idea of the boat's being here or of the Capt.'s intention to stop here, but I am very glad, as it gives me the opportunity to send this poor letter, and a shawl I have for thee, it is of changeable silk, thee will accept it from thy sister & I hope wear it. I shall send too, a little box of Jack-straws of Ivory, which I had made for dear Ecce.

No. 19 Macao Saturday Eve'g  
Nov 7th 1846

My dear husband—

Last evening at about 1 o'clock, I sent a letter No. 18 to Mr. Forbes, who was to leave in the *Raven* very early this morning for Canton. I sent beside, a small trunk containing thy Surtout & Coat and the small crêpe scarfs, to have boxes made for them separately. I wrote a note to Wm. F. Robinson, in reply to *three* of his, as I had very improperly neglected to acknowledge the receipt of the *Beer* he sent by Mr. Moore. As to the *Douglas*, I think it quite useless to speculate upon the chances of hearing by the next mail of her arrival home; I hope & fear too, the one feeling nearly

as strong as the other. I am much concerned to hear of thy continued indisposition. Thee is beginning just as thee did last winter, and if thee does not take better care of thyself and get well at once, thee will, I fear, become seriously ill, as thee did then. Can thee not avoid going to the Hongs for a few days, till thee gets rid of thy cold entirely? . . . Four ships came in today, all in sight at once, Dutch, French, English & Spanish. Now I will endeavour to reply to the remaining items of thy Nov. 18, and those also of No. 19 rec'd to-day. I do not admire the black Satin levantine, it is too thick for a dress in my opinion. I do not want *30 yds* of the silk like the pattern I sent up, 20 or 24 yds, would be ample for two dresses, however, half a dozen yds of black silk will never come amiss. The satin levantine would be very nice for linings &c, but I dont think would look well in a dress at all, would look "*dabby*," to use a very inelegant expression. . . . I dont know, but I dont think thee should wait for Mr. Edger to call on thee before calling on his bride, however, thee of course knows Canton customs better than I do.

Monday Morning 9th Nov. My darling husband—This morning before breakfast, I sent an invitation to Messrs. Parkin, Laight & Olmsted to dine here with Capt. Paulding. They have accepted. I have been extremely busy, as my boy is sick & the Compradore does not know where anything is to be found, so I have been down getting wine &c. We are to have leak Soup, Fish, Capon, Chickens, Curry, Teal &c. Farewell my darling, do make haste and get well, ever thy loving wife Rebecca.

Macao 11th Mo. 5th 1846

My dear darling Sister—

My last letter was sent by the *Navigator* on the 2d inst. I called on Mrs. McQueen whom I found busily engaged as usual, at her embroidery frame, from which she produces some beautiful specimens of work, & a great number of them. She is now working "the Pilgrim returning from the Holy Land." . . . Mrs. McQ. told me the Governor intended calling on me this morning, so I hastened home. He came accordingly with his *Aid*, who spoke not a syllable during the visit; the Governor speaks English very well, he made a long call, apologized for never having been before, saying it was the fault of his Secretary, that he had not received Mr. Kinsman's card &c, offered me his protection if necessary at any time

&c &c. Natty has been much interested this morning in the story of Samson, I read it to him yesterday, for the first time, & he devoured it with open ears. It was very much to his taste, which I am sorry to say is very warlike. . . . But there is nothing he fancies so much as the story of David & Goliath. David jumping on the Giant's prostrate body, & drawing his sword & *cutting off his head*, perfectly fascinates him. His chief ideas of happiness seem to consist in the possession of a Sword, a pair of Pistols with plenty of *percussion caps*, & when he is large enough to manage it, a *Musket*. The pistols, he thinks he might have now. I *think* it will be better not to read him any more of these old testament stories for the present, as they rather tend to nourish this peculiar passion of his. Today I had company at dinner, Capt. Paulding dined with me, and there being two or three gentlemen in town whom my husband wished me to invite, I took the opportunity of doing so today. Four gentlemen in all quite an undertaking for a poor lone woman was it not? It passed off pleasantly, but was saddened to me by the receipt of a note just at dinner time, informing me of the *death* of my dear friend, Mrs. Reynvaan. It was very sudden & unexpected. . . . On *Sixth* day, I was very busy, arranging for my little party in the evening. As Ice cream was not to be had, we were obliged to devise some other refreshment. Would thee like to hear about it? I will tell thee & Annie and dear Mother too if she cares to hear, but dont read it to anybody else, because it sounds so foolish. Mrs. Gillespie came in and made for me with the Cook's assistance a "Charlotte Russe," for which Mrs. Everett gave her the directions, and a very nice & respectable one it proved, this was placed at one end of the table, a pyramid of fruit at the other, & a high glass bowl of "Floating Island" in the Center. Chicken Salad Sandwiches, jellies, Blanc-Mange, Cakes, fruits & preserves of various kinds were placed around, & with plenty of flowers, the table looked very prettily. I missed Mary Anne very much on this occasion, but Mrs. Gillespie was very kind & useful in assisting me. Mrs. Forbes sent me a dish of delicious candied oranges, which she prepared herself, and lent me her piano for the occasion. Music is so indispensable in making an evening pass pleasantly, particularly when people are assembled many of whom are unacquainted with each other. The Governor honored me with his company, & there were about 21 here I think. I asked all the Americans & most of the English here, so thee sees

our name is not "Legion." However several declined. I think the evening passed rather pleasantly, tho' I think a hostess cannot so well judge. She is naturally anxious as to the enjoyment of her guests. On seventh day after dinner, called to see Mrs. McQueen, found her playing chess with the Governor. I should have mentioned that Mr. & Mrs. Everett declined invitations to all these parties. Mrs. Everett said she would have come here on 6th day eve'g, but having declined the other invitations, she feared it would not answer.

11th Mo. 20th—My precious Sister—Yesterday the mournful tidings reached me of the departure of my loved—my idolised child—This morning early came my Mail, letters from Canton, bringing me the painful particulars. Bowed down, under the first pressure of this heavy visitation, unexpected, tho' I had endeavoured to be prepared for it, I am humbled under a feeling of the mercy of Him who *lent* me for a brief term of years this holy treasure. These pages (the first of the letter) will seem to thee heartless, & I hesitate about sending them, yet I could not well do otherwise than I did, forming as I did a component part of a very small community, every member of which was of importance, & I felt bound, having no *known* peculiar cause of sorrow to contribute my part *cheerfully* to the benefit of the whole, tho' had I consulted my own private feelings alone, quiet & silence would have been more grateful to me, than society, ever since the departure of my loved ones, my heart was not in any gayety, & I felt that in joining my friends, I was doing right both for my husband's sake & my own. For his sake & my darling children's I must not now give way to unavailing grief for the loved & departed. Could my dear husband be with me now, it would be an unspeakable comfort, but just now it is impossible for him to leave his business. Nothing short of impossibility would keep him there. It is a great comfort to me that those precious remains were taken home, and now repose in the family tomb. My tender love to my dear Father & Mother, Sisters, brothers, & all my friends—

Thy affectionate and loving Sister

Rebecca

Friday 20th Nov,

My dear darling Husband—

The sad news of our beloved one's removal reached me



yesterday at about 11 o'clock. Mrs. F. and Mrs. G. came in, I met them in the entry, and saw at once that they had something sad in store for me, and when Mrs. F. said with a kiss, we have sad news for you, my first tho't was of thee, my precious husband. I did not think of the Mail—Mr. Robinson wrote to Mrs. F. & requested her to break it to me, as he feared I might hear it accidentally. She was all kindness. This morning, thy letters reached me at 7 o'clock, I was already up. I have tried to be prepared for this event, but alas—I was not. Still I am calm, & not one murmuring thought rises in rebellion against Him, from whose hand comes this affliction. My bright, my beautiful child, the pride of my heart, the delight of my eyes, has been taken from me, but she is not *lost*, Oh dearest let us endeavour to realise this, We *shall* go to her—oh let us be prepared to meet her where she has gone. But for thee my precious one, I trust thee will be comforted. Grieve not too deeply, I wish we could be together, but as we cannot, we must pray for each other. I did hope thee could have come down, but I know it was impossible. It is an unspeakable comfort to me, and it must be to thee, to know that the precious darling was spared much suffering. What a comfort it would have been, could I have been with her. . . . Poor Mary Anne, what a fearful trial for her. I feel very anxious now on her account. Do write her a few cheering lines by the Mail. My friends here all express their kindest sympathy. Mrs. Gillespie came in & offered to stay all night, but I told her it was unnecessary. Dr. Hopper was here in the evening & offered a feeling prayer. Mrs. Forbes has been in twice yesterday & again this morning. Her sympathy is true & tender. Thee alas is comparatively alone, but not alone for God thy father & friend is with thee and I feel truly & consolingly that He is with me. Come down as soon as thee can consistently leave, I need not ask this, for I am sure thee will. . . . Oh—*how lovely, how beautiful, how sweet* she was!

I do not think this world *can* ever again be to us what it was before, and *I hope* it will never *engross* me as it has done. . . . Last night Natty felt deeply the omission of his accustomed prayer for his Sister's safe return, and for her health & happiness, and asked 'me whether it was not possible there was some mistake about it, & that she might be yet alive. Ella has come in to comfort Natty to-day, & childlike with happy forgetfulness of sorrow, he is again happy at his play. . . . Mrs. Forbes, dear kind friend, sent a bowl of nice soup to



tempt my appetite, and a plate of mutton & green peas, was she not kind, but I could only eat the soup. Dear, darling husband, I wish I could know how thee is to-night. Do take care of thyself. What would become of poor me, if aught should befall thee. I feel such constant anxiety—I feel calm, but very very sad. Be of good courage, and let us trust in God, and if further trials are in store for us, let us hope that He will strengthen us to bear them.

Farewell my dear husband—

Ever thy own tenderly attached, & truly devoted  
Rebecca

Macao Second day 11th Mo. 23d 1846

My dearest Sister—

I scarcely know how to commence this letter—how to express myself under the changed aspect of all things. . . . I am enabled to recall with melancholy pleasure, the many bright & happy days passed with my cherished child. She was so happy, so bright, the sunshine of the house, and of my life. . . . Early on Seventh day morning, the 28th ult., my dear husband arrived & knocked at my chamber door. . . . Our meeting was even more joyful than usual, tho' we had each much sorrow in our hearts, but we had so longed to mingle our sorrows, & tears, & to speak to each other of the dear departed, cherished child, now I trust with the Angels, there was great comfort in being together. He remained with me five days & left this morning. For the past week we have had a long, tedious rain storm, gloomy in the extreme, constant rain. Yesterday, the sun shone out in all his glory, and the day was a delightful one, warm & summer-like. The dear children enjoyed it highly, and oh how constantly was my cherished one in my thoughts, as I recollected how much she used to enjoy such days, her quick, elastic step, and sweet bird like voice used to shed such life & happiness throughout the household. It seems a mysterious Providence which has removed from us the one, to human appearance so calculated to influence happily the other children. She was at all times so affectionate, disinterested & loving, that her example & influence could not have failed to be delightful. . . . It has been a great disappointment to me not to spend this winter in Canton, but it might not have been as well for the children, & so I try to be reconciled, but it is very lonely for me particularly just now, when my heart is so full of grief. It is *possible* that I may go up for

a month or two by & by, but I hardly expect it. Mrs. Forbes expects to go up some time in January, but I think there is some doubt about it. I don't know how I could be willing to remain here if she were to leave. . . .

Macao 12th Mo. 25th 1846 Sixth day  
Christmas

. . . This is anything but a "Merry Christmas." I am quite alone in the house with my dear little Abbott and my own thoughts. Nelly Forbes came in directly after breakfast to take Natty home with her, and share in the pleasure of her Christmas gifts. Last evening, Mrs. Forbes gave a party to the few Am. children in Macao, (seven in number). She had an Evergreen tree prettily illuminated, placed in the parlour, and various toys, books, cornucopias of bonbons &c, suspended from it, it was very pretty indeed & the occasion a pleasant one. I did not intend to go, but as I found Mrs. F. was expecting me, & that the pleasure of the occasion would be marred if I did not go, I went. It was pleasant to see the children so happy, and the utmost good feeling prevailed amongst them. Everyone was well satisfied with his own share. Mrs. Everett sent a pretty purse for Natty, & Dr. Hopper sent him & Nelly each a pretty testament, beside various toys & other articles collected and manufactured by the ladies of the house. Since I wrote by the last Mail, Mrs. Forbes has had a little daughter added to her family, a very beautiful child whom they think of calling *Pauline* for her father. It is not yet three weeks old, yet Mrs. Forbes was out in the drawing room with the children in the eve'g., looking very well & bright. . . . I could not help contrasting my lonely dinner to-day, only little Abbott at table with me, with the pleasant Christmas gatherings we used to have at our house formerly, our darling children all well & happy. . . . Natty is standing by me, asking me various questions. I have asked him for a message. He says give my love to Aunty, & ask her to send me some books, & a *tool chest*! His first wish was for a *gun* & some *percussion caps* (his usual wish), but when I told him that I thought that it would make his Aunty unhappy to hear that he made such a request, he changed it to a tool chest.

Macao 12th Mo. 31st 1846!

10 P.M.

Two hours more, my beloved Sister, and this old year will have passed from us, into the grave of its predecessors, while

with you it has yet 12 hours more to live. Though from its commencement, it has been a year of anxiety & sorrow, yet I cannot realise that it has departed for ever, or bid it farewell without regret. . . . Many & painful have been the lessons it has taught me, & I feel almost as if I were an entirely different person from the one I thought myself a year ago. . . . I earnestly hope, that in the course of the coming year, we may return to our beloved native land. . . . The *Grafton* brought out a reinforcement of Missionaries, seven in number. Thee will be glad to hear that the newly arrived Missionaries seem likely to prove a very desirable acquisition to our little circle. I have not seen much of them as yet. With Mr. & Mrs. Speer I am particularly pleased. They are quite young and seem like cultivated, educated people. . . . There is also a Mr. French, a *single* man. These three are to remain here. Mr. & Mrs. *Mattoon*, also very pleasing people, & a Dr. *House* are destined for Bancoek in Siam, their lot is less desirable than that of the others, as the place is said to be unhealthy & disagreeable. . . . Mrs. Forbes sent for me to come in there to tea & I went. Mr. Everett was unusually lively & agreeable & I passed a pleasant evening. . . . This evening, there is to be a little meeting at the Mission house, I think I may go. I went one evening before, & it was worth going, if only to hear the Bible read so delightfully by Mr. Mattoon. Mary Anne will tell thee that our kind friend Dr. Hopper is not *remarkable* in this respect, any more than in preaching.

Macao 1st. Mo. 24th 1847

I have been for several days intending to commence a letter to thee, my dear darling Sister, for the next Overland Mail, but have waited with a kind of forlorn hope, for the arrival of the Overland Mail, but this morning to our great joy we are told that the Steamer is actually arrived. . . . My longing to get possession of the letters is intense, but I must try and wait as patiently as I can till they shall have gone to Canton, and come down again to Macao. . . . This is first day eve'g, this morning I went to meeting taking Natty with me. This mail brings the sad tidings of dear Dora's<sup>4</sup> death. She was indeed a noble girl. Mr. Mun (?) from Lima has been here with his wife, Donna Rosa and spent a night before going to Canton. She speaks no English, a little French, Spanish being her native tongue. . . . Abbott

4 Dora Delano, sister of Warren Delano.





THE PORT OF SHANGHAI



THE FEAST OF LANTERNS





talks a great deal but his *conversation* is a heterogeneous mixture of Chinese, English & China English, which I am often obliged to call on the Ammah to interpret for me. . . . Natty's mind has been greatly exercised lately on account of the passage in Revelations: "Michael & his Angels, fighting with Satan & his Angels." It was by accident that he heard the passage, and without reflection I read it to him. For an hour or two afterward, he could not seem to get over it, but after appearing to reflect for some time in silence, he would say, "Well, I *did* think there was peace in *heaven*"; and again, "I had no idea there was ever War in *Heaven*." Yet, notwithstanding, he is at times very unruly, & I sigh for the comfort to which I used to turn at such times, when my sweet Ecce would come & place her cheek to mine & whisper, "Mother, I am sorry Natty gives you so much trouble." She was a sweet little sympathizer. . . . I am much less lonely this winter than I expected to be. Everetts living next door, is a great comfort, we can see each other very often & hold conversations from our verandahs when we go out to look at ships. Our kind Dr. Watson with his amiable wife too, and at present several missionaries. A Bremen ship, the *Pauline* came in this morning from Manila, and this afternoon *La Gloire*, a French frigate, came in from France. A Corvette, the *Victorieuse* has been stationed here for several months. Mons. de Bécour, the French Consul, receives by this mail the account of the death of his Mother, which afflicts him very much. So many it appears have been made to mourn by the arrival of the Steamer looked forward to, with so much anxiety. The surf is dashing with its ceaseless music on the shore tonight, with more than its usual force, the wind being strong from the East. I have used my eyes so much today, in watching for ships & looking through the telescope, that they are weary. The *Vancouver* has arrived, & this morning early, I was awakened by the Ammah with the announcement that *John* had arrived!!! Thee may imagine my amazement, for having rec'd no mail letters for two months, we did not know of his having embarked. How much rejoiced I am to have him back, I need not tell thee. Yet his arrival has opened afresh the sources of grief, and the sight of the clothes which my darling had worn and still more the bright locks of her sunny golden hair was almost more than I could bear. John seemed much affected on his return to the old familiar scenes. The children looked delicate to him. . . . My dear precious Mother, I have reserved the expression of my thanks

for thy truly valued letter the last, but I assure thee none gave me so much pleasure to receive. If thee knew how glad I was of it, I feel sure thee would write me more often. I rec'd a letter from Wm. Osborn from Manila. He sympathizes very much in dear Ecce's death, says Dr. Reed who attended her in Manila expressed himself not at all surprised at the effect produced on her by the cold weather of a Southern latitude, as he always had great fear of her lungs, & attributes her death to the breaking of a blood vessel, but said he confidently expected that she would so much have improved before reaching those cold latitudes as to have been able to resist their effects. Oh, was she not lovely?

My husband is now pretty well, much better than last winter. My kind love to our dear friends in Brown St. and to Aunt Robinson, & best remembrance to Sylvester. Ever thy loving

Rebecca

Many thanks to my dear Mother for the nice gingerbread, Nath'l will be delighted I am sure.

Macao 2d Mo. 3d 1847

My Overland letters, dearest Sister, sent a week ago nearly, unfortunately went one day too early to acknowledge receipt of thine of 10th & 11th months. . . . How kind all our dear friends were to write to us so affectionately & sympathizingly. I do not deserve the blessing of so many kind & warm friends. John tells me so many things about you all, that it seems to place me among you once more. Thee can readily fancy how many inquires I have to make of him. Oh, how glad I am to have him back again, but poor Mother K. felt his departure sadly. . . . Today, the sun has been shining brightly, & the cold is exhilarating. The children went out after dinner well wrapped up, but I believe found no companions except some Portuguese children. Had I had any-one to accompany me, I should have enjoyed a good, long, rapid walk. . . . During the late storm, there has been a good deal of thunder & lightning, some here & more at Canton, this is very unusual at this season. Some say unheard of, and the Chinese are much alarmed. They think "Joss have too muchy angry" and think it portends all sorts of calamities. . . . I am very glad to hear that Mrs. Peirce is coming out so soon. Shanghai, I think from what I hear of it, must be a very pleasant residence, a healthy climate, the summer short,

the extreme heat lasting only about six weeks, and the remainder very delightful, the winters cold enough for snow & ice. I wish Mary Anne could come out with her, as she seems desirous to be here again. . . . The children are very well & go on much the same as I have represented them in my frequent communications of late. I have much comfort in them both. . . . My paper is at an end; my best love to dear Father & Mother, brothers & sisters & to our dear friends in Brown St. I shall write again very soon. We expect the *Paul Jones* in the course of the month, & the *Mirage* also, the new ship. Hope thee will have heard of her sailing. Farewell dear darling Sister, kiss dear Willie for me many times. I fancy he may be home for his spring vacation when this reaches thee. Believe me, ever thy loving & affectionate

Rebecca

(Letter from Nathaniel Kinsman to his wife)

Canton 2nd Jan'y 1847—

Saturday Evening

My best beloved,

I have had a walk since I closed my letter to you, drank tea, and written a letter of introduction to Father for Mr. Brown. . . . Capt. Nichols of the *J. Q. Adams* called in to-day to say good bye, he very kindly offered to take charge of anything I wished to send home, said he regretted that I had not been able to visit his ship, which I promised to do, because he wished to tell Mr. Parker that I had been on board to see his favourite Ship. I expressed my regrets and told him *perhaps I would go home with him next autumn*, & that he might tell Mr. Parker I should not be afraid to take passage with my family in the *J. Q. Adams*. This I have no doubt will please the "old beggar"—Nichols said he would certainly tell the old gent. Mr. Parker's regard for me on my return home, will be in exact proportion to the amount of dollars I may be estimated to possess—I am afraid the *reality* would place me very low in his estimation. Coming from China, every one will set me down for a rich man, and it will be a difficult matter to convince people to the contrary. I am not very worldly minded now, and my expectations are very moderate, and my desires equally so. But we will not speculate upon this subject, another year will determine the matter.

Though very pleasant, this has been the coldest day this season—in the morning at 7 o'clock, the thermometer stood

at 46°, which is about as low as the Mercury ever falls at Macao, whilst here it sometimes goes down to 31 & 32, below freezing point—at last dates from Shanghai the weather was very cold, large icicles hanging from the roofs of the houses, how much such a sight, must remind the foreign residents of a winter at home. I dread the winters more than anything after we get home.

Since the foregoing was written I have been out and taken two or three turns 'round the garden, but abridged my walk in consequence of its being chilly and somewhat damp. . . . With what trifling matters my notes are filled, you must I think sometimes weary of such dull prosy letters, and yet from your account, they are always welcome, this I consider a proof of your affection. I do not say that evidence of this fact is necessary. It would be, to say the least, ungrateful if your heart did not beat in response to mine. I flatter myself that I am just as much a *lover now*, as I was *eleven years ago*, twelve indeed—only think, it is nearly 13 years since we first met at Martha Webb's! does it seem possible it can be so long—During that period how few changes there have been in our family circle, by death I mean. To us there have been four children born, and alas! from us one has been taken. Our dear, dear daughter, how lovely, how beautiful she was. We must not, ought not, to wish her back. . . . Our house was well represented at Church today, there being five, out of seven, of our family present. The Assembly was large for Canton. Mr. Forbes, King, or Perkins, *never* go to meeting & seldom any one of the concern, Edward Delano went with me today. . . . I wish Mr. Moore would get here tonight, as I might possibly get ready to leave tomorrow evening. I must be here one day after he arrives to give him directions about the shipment of Teas that I have purchased during his absence.

God bless & protect us all, prays your faithful and affectionate

Husband

(Mrs. Kinsman's letter)

Macao, 2nd Mo. 15th 1847

I am commencing my overland letter rather early this morning, my dear darling Sister, but there are a few things I wish to mention, which I fear I may forget if I defer it till the last moment. . . . This is China New Year & a great day with the Chinese—Last evening, after I left the parlour,



it was swept & put in order for today, the boy set the breakfast table, & then came to my door to request that "*tomorrow*" I would not ring the bells for the day, but that when I wanted anything, I would send John down to tell him! It would be hard to deny them this privilege, when they ask it but once in the year, so I told him that if I could avoid it, I would not ring the bells at all today—Here we see nothing extraordinary except an unusual degree of noise with fireworks, crackers &c—but at Canton, I suppose there is a good deal of display. All the household went at midnight—to "chin chin Jos," taking it by turns 2 or 3 at a time. . . . Dr. Hopper is still at Canton, in search of a house, wishing to remove the Mission up there. He has had several in prospect, but obstacles are constantly thrown in his way by the Chinese, & I doubt if he succeeds. I am selfish enough to wish to keep them here, & indeed I cannot see why they may not do as much good here as at Canton, where there are already quite a large number—I think I have not mentioned that Mrs. Speer has a dear *little* baby—the smallest one that I ever saw—but very pretty. . . . We have been having some very cool weather—yes, *very cold* for China—like the first winter we were in China. We needed all the warm clothing we could put on to keep us comfortable, but I enjoyed it very much, it was so invigorating, only I regretted that Nathl could not be here, that I might enjoy some long walks in the clear bracing air—At Canton, ice formed for several successive nights & they had hail also, & many of the poor wretched, houseless beggars, died from the cold. . . . All the servants today have been dressed in their best, and have enjoyed a time of much *elegant* leisure, which they have employed in walking about in a very stately manner, playing Shuttlecock with their feet, firing crackers, etc. . . . Natty has been amusing himself today in the yard mostly—as the day was very pleasant and mild, watching the servants at their games, etc.—with his dear John, who is his inseparable companion. It seems so pleasant to have John back again. I cannot tell thee *how* pleasant, but thee can imagine—Good night—beloved one. Third day evening, 16th. There has been more noise & chin-chinning—gong beating & firing of crackers than yesterday in this vicinity, but now all seems quiet. Mrs. Everett came in & sat an hour with me today—very pleasantly—Mrs. Watson & several others were also in *separately*, so that they occupied a good deal of time. Mrs. Gillespie is studying Spanish with Mrs. Mun, & makes good progress—

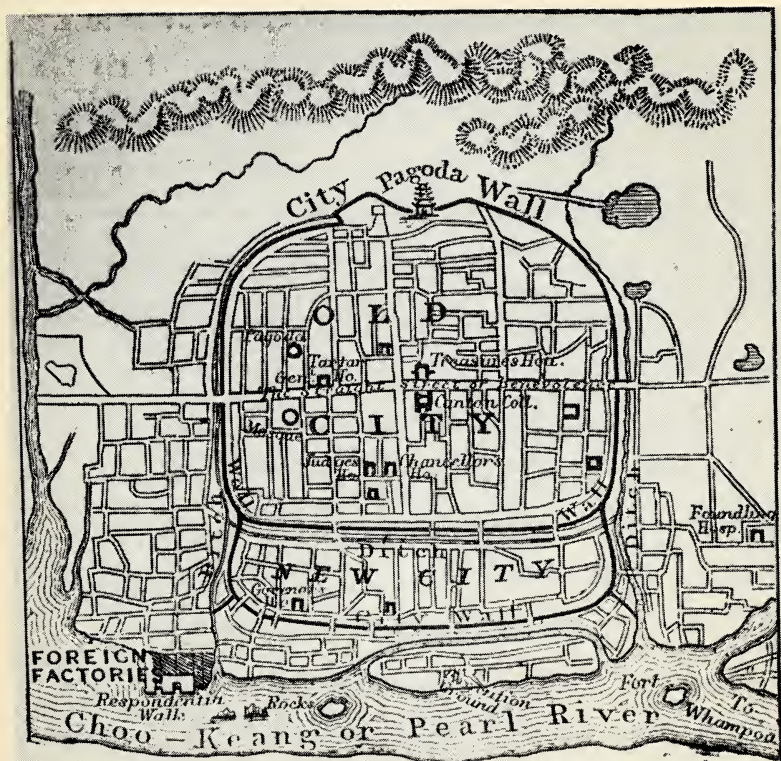
I intended to have joined her, but could not find the leisure moments which is a pity—a knowledge of Spanish is very desirable here. . . . Capt. Endicott told me that he writes his Mother & Sister long letters by every mail & by nearly every ship—thee knows he is a brother of George Endicott who married Susan Lawrence. Having been from home 13 years, I think it is very remarkable. He has always been kind & attentive to us since we have been in China & the two fine goats which furnished our beloved with milk on her passage home, were a gift, a very valuable one from him. . . . On fifth day as I mentioned, Mrs. G. came in to pass the day or rather afternoon with me—but it may be called *passing the day* if one comes in before dinner (we dine at 3). In the evening, Mr. Gillespie arrived down from Canton very unexpectedly—in the *Raven*—The husband & wife had not met before for more than seven months—of course it was a joyful meeting. I rec'd a dear long letter from thee, by what does thee think—the *Thomas Perkins*—dated July last! Seven months ago! nevertheless it was very acceptable & interesting—I believe the *T. Perkins* has been round into the Pacific with supplies for the Army, but of this I am not quite sure, & thence to Amoy, one of the Northern ports where she now is, & these letters were sent down to H. Kong, & from there, here—how strange that a folded piece of paper passes safely thro' so many chances & changes never one has yet missed. Last eve'g. I had a good long walk for which I had been longing all winter, but could not enjoy for want of a companion—as it would hardly be safe & certainly not pleasant to venture far outside the city without a companion of the firmer sex. Quite without premeditation, our two clerical friends having offered their services—Messrs. French & Speer—they with Mrs. Everett, Mr. & Mrs. Gillespie & the Muns met me at our gate & we went round by Cassilius bay, which thee may remember used to be a favorite walk when we first came to China—Natty & John went with us. . . . Yesterday I rec'd a present of a fine Edition of Milton in two large volumes from Mr. Speer—I shall prize it much. . . . Now that I have John & the weather is fine Natty is out of doors a good deal. We have two fine swings in the yard, which the children enjoy—they are suspended from the trees, & one of them is a sort of slatted box—can thee understand what I mean? in which they can both sit with perfect safety—It was a present to the children, & is a nice affair, & if I can conveniently & don't forget it, I intend taking it

home—Ammah has gone home today to be absent 3 days, so that the care devolves on John & me—it is fortunate I have so able an assistant. This eve'g when I was undressing Abbott, John was standing by, talking of Salem & of you all, which is his delight—when he remarked that thee, dear Sister, asked him if I intended bringing home my Sedan Chair—& that thee hoped I would bring two Coolies also, which he seemed to think a very amusing idea—John seems to have quite recovered his cheerfulness—He is delighted with Abbott, whom he thinks so good & sweet. When they went to walk this afternoon, I went to the Gate with them; and as I looked after them, they looked so pretty taking hold of John's hand & walking happily along that I inwardly longed for thee, my dear Sister, to share in my happiness. . . . One thing thee will like to hear; Capt. Fuller of the *Vancouver* & a Mr. Gunn who came out passenger in her are at Canton now; Nathl has seen them both & is much pleased with Capt. F. & both speak in terms of the highest praise of our good John. Capt. F. congratulated Nathl. on the possession of so faithful & excellent a servant, said he must be invaluable to us. I do hope we shall be able to write by him & I wish we had something beside letters to send, as he goes to Boston. Perhaps Nathl may be able to send thy *fans* by him, & will probably send some teas. . . . I shall try to write at least a note to brother Wm. by this mail, to tell him about James Buffington of whom he wished to know. I must say farewell for this time dearest, as it is late & my eyes ache. May sweet slumbers & the best of blessings, temporal & spiritual, be yours, my beloved absent friends.

First day Eve'g—21st. A few words, my dear Sister, before I sleep to tell thee of our welfare. We enjoy very interesting meetings again now. Both Mr. Speer & Mr. French sing with much taste & feeling; Mrs. Speer is prohibited now from using her vocal powers by the state of her lungs—but Mrs. Watson sings well & with true devotional feeling—She says she sings to praise her Maker, not to please the outward ear—While debarred from worshipping in the assemblies of “my own people”, I enjoy these seasons of social worship very much. . . . My husband tells me that he thinks of taking us to Canton for a short time after the Mail is off—I am of course very, very glad. . . . This has been a feast day among the Portuguese—the first Sunday in Lent—and they have had a procession. The children have been out with John & a Coolie to see it. . . . Have I told of the

Lieutenant Governor of Canton—*Hwang* (pronounced Wong) having been disgraced? He was one of those present at Mr. Cushing's dinner—a very fine looking & intelligent man—and friendly to foreigners—His crime was “Concealing his Mourning”—as the Chinese term it. He received news of the death of his Mother at a time when he was reviewing the troops & examining candidates for promotion, & did not let his loss be known until he had got thro' with these duties. His duty according to Chinese law & usage, would have been immediately on receipt of the intelligence to have *resigned his office*, & gone into mourning for 2 years. By so doing, he would have lost large sums of money accruing from the examination of candidates for promotion, where much is effected by bribery & corruption. It is said that he consulted Keying (Governor of the Province) who advised to the course he pursued—& some suppose it may lead to his own disgrace. It is also said Keying has sent a petition to the Emperor, praying for pardon to his friend—Keying being of the Imperial family will manage, I fancy to keep his place. Poor Hwang is now on his way to Peking to receive his sentence—Where there are no extenuating circumstances, the punishment for his crime is said to be *death*. Was ever such a strange people & government? I suspect from his known favourable disposition towards foreigners, it will be a disadvantage to the foreign community to have him removed from office—Very likely Nathl will have told thee all this, & thee will have the trouble of reading it twice. . . . I went in & sat an hour with Mrs. Everett—did not see Mr. E.—who has been suffering a good deal the last day or two—was not able to come in here last eve'g at tea. Mrs. E was bright & well as usual. She is a dear good woman, & I always enjoy sitting an hour or two with her very much. . . . I took her in a basket of Bcoas (?) or *Manila* cakes, which I received today from Mr. Osborn—He kindly sent me a jar of them by a Spanish vessel. . . . I intended to have taken my pen as soon as tea, but Natty wished me to read him the story of *Samson*, & John was requested to take a chair near him, so every now & then he turned to John, to impress more fully upon him some fact or idea, that he feared John did not fully comprehend or appreciate. . . . Do beg dear Annie to continue to write to us. She must know how glad I should be to write to her, but she would not wonder that I do not do many things I wish to, if she could imagine my utter weariness of pen & paper at times. . . . Tell my dear Mother that the box of





PLAN OF THE CITY OF CANTON.

FROM A CONTEMPORARY MAGAZINE



gingerbread sent by John is yet unopened—as well as Sister Mary K's—I sent Mother's to Canton to Nathl, but he prefers opening it when we are together, which I trust will *not* be many days hence. Have I told thee that Nathl writes, he thinks of taking us up for a short visit when he returns to Canton, provided he can induce the Steamer to call here for us! I shall be very, very glad to go for a time, tho' it is now getting rather advanced in the season—The *Vancouver* and *Horatio* will leave soon—Capt. Crocker of the *Horatio* is one of the most agreeable captains with whom to make a passage, perhaps the most so, of anyone who comes to China—I wish we could go back with him. Please tell Brother Wm. that I have made thro a friend inquiry for J. Buffington, as he requested, & find that he is still in China & doing well. He wrote by the last Mail to his friends remitting them a considerable sum of money, so that they will have heard of him very agreeably.

Much love to dear Father & Mother, brothers & Sisters, Aunt Collins, Uncle Philip & the dear Cousins all—and our dear friends in Brown St. Much love also to Aunt Robinson. With warmest & truest Sisterly

Affection

Rebecca

Macao 2d Mo 26th 1847

My dear Sister:

It seems a long time since we have heard from you, not since the arrival of the last Mail, & the *Vancouver* which came nearly together. . . . We are expecting the *Paul Jones*, *Candace*, & *Ariel*, the latter from Boston, beside Capt. Waterman's new ship, for which various names are suggested, such as the *Mirage*, *Dragon* & others. . . . Yesterday I had no letter from Nathl but today, *two*—also a note from Mrs Forbes—Mrs. F. gives me an interesting account of the Chinese dinner a Howqua's—She says there were about thirty ladies (Chinese) present, beside their female attendants—Houqua's wives & family beside invited guests. The ladies most of them, were very gaudily dressed, and much painted, except Houqua's own family, who being in mourning were not—Mrs. Forbes' party consisted of herself, Miss Deblois, Emelia Rawle, and Dr. Ball's wife & daughters, who speak Chinese very well, and acted as interpreters. Several gentlemen accompanied them, but did not (as I understand) dine with the ladies. Houqua has several wives, I have heard

*seven*, but only one child—a son—whose mother is the Wife No. 2 and the favourite. The dinner consisted of 30 courses, and Mrs. F. says some of the dishes were good. They all enjoyed themselves highly—I should have liked much to have been there, it would have been a circumstance to remember all one's life-time.<sup>5</sup> . . .

(Mrs. Forbes, in her note, wrote): It would be useless for me to attempt giving you a description of our visit to Houqua's—it requires to be seen. All I can say is I liked it very much, thought the rooms really handsome. We went to his "Park House" which is the place where they always receive visitors. . . . As we approached the house the terrace was crowded with ladies and their women, they looked like so many Indian Queens. Houqua with a great many attendants stood on the steps at the landing to receive us. The Gongs were beat and all sorts of savage noises made as we landed. We were taken upstairs at once to the ladies—Houqua's family came forward and received us—then we were introduced to some of their friends who had been invited to see us. The wife No. 2 appears to be the head one. She is the Mother of his son, and strange to say the *only* child he has. She appeared very proud of him, brought him up to us and told him to show himself to let us see him. We were fortunate to have such good interpreters as the Balls. We had a dinner of which I liked *some* of the dishes, & left them at 6, got home at 7. . . . You ask me if I see much of Mr. Kinsman—I might as well say I never see him. I believe he has only been to see me twice or three times at the most since I came up. I have tried my best to get him to bring you up but he always says he will think of it—I wanted him to go down in the Steamer & give you your choice to throw your things in your trunks in two hours notice, or not come to Canton, but he said you would not be able to get ready & he would not. You would enjoy a visit here now very much—so many of our own people, the English

5 Houqua, the famous Hong merchant, died in 1843—so this was undoubtedly his son. The prosperity of the family continued to his grandson. The Hong system virtually ended when the Treaty Ports were opened. However, some of the Chinese firms remained for years because they had the "know how" of trading there, and Canton held its lead for a long time. Shanghai finally triumphed because of supplies and also climate. (Charles H. P. Copeland, Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.)



Consul gives a "Ball" on the 2nd March. What do you think of that for Canton?

My love to home,

Aff. yours

(Mrs. Kinsman continues)

M.F.

Annie D., in her note, tells me in *confidence*, what it will be no breach of confidence to mention here, because the wish for secrecy will no longer exist before thee receives this—that she & Mr. Nye are to be married early in April, and live in Macao this summer. She *proposes* to come over & stay a week or two with me after their marriage. . . . Last night I was alone; after Natty went to bed, I took up my new *Milton*, which is very inviting for its fine, large type, and read "Samson Agonistes" and "Comos." . . . I heard something this evening that I did not know before—that Lord Napier lived in the house where Mr. Forbes now lives, and in the very room occupied by Mrs. F. in Macao. It was at the commencement of the opium troubles at Canton, about 1833 or 34—when all the foreigners were imprisoned in their own houses. He was ill, and Dr. College represented to the authorities that his health required his removal to Macao, permission was granted & he was sent down in a "Chop boat," but such a beating of gongs, and all sorts of other noises were kept up during the passage, in token of rejoicing that he was in their power, that the poor invalid got no rest. He was taken to the house, then Mr. Matheson's, but he lived only 3 or 4 days after his arrival.<sup>6</sup>

Seventh day evening 27th. At length, dearest sister, we have the agreeable intelligence that the Mail is really here. . . . Mr. Gillespie came in about noon, and told me he had seen a London Newspaper, & gave me some items of intelligence relating to America—such as the continuation of the war with Mexico, and the loss of the Steamer *Atlantic*. . . . Mr. & Mrs. M. came in and soon after Dr. Hopper, & all staid to tea. . . . Dr. H. talked over their prospect of going to Canton. It seems they have had some idea of removing the mission to the north, Shanghai; and since they have found so much difficulty in procuring a suitable house at Canton, they have turned their thoughts again in that direction, and

6 Lord Napier arrived in China in July 1834 with a Royal Commission as Chief Superintendent of British trade and representative of the British Government, after the dissolution of the East India Company. The manner of his coming to China was bungled and the Chinese refused to receive him. He died at Macao October 1834. — Tyler Dennett

now are awaiting their Mail letters for the advices and instructions of the Board at home, before acting further. Dr. H. insists that in his absence, I have *entered his fold*, and *influenced* his brethren to be more inclined to remain here, to which I pleaded guilty only so far as to rejoice at his repeated disappointments at getting a house. . . . Mrs Graham spoke of Shanghai as a very pleasant residence—and says the Chinese are very civil & kind to foreigners. If Mr Graham is able, they expect to leave in the *Horatio*. He, poor man, is very ill, not able to sit up at all today—the damp weather affects him unfavourably. . . .

Second day—3d Mo. 1st—

Two fast-boats have come in and I have been watching them, thinking Nath'l must be on board one of them, but not so—Oh for patience. The clever old Wash Man has been here this morning, with his weekly budget of clothes, which I must now look over and put away—only think of a Marseilles quilt & a heavy blanket being washed for 2 cts each!

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(Samples of Bills to the Compradore During Feb. 1847)

Compradore—

Pay Ammah two months wages—except \$1—paid another Ammah during her sickness.

\$9 —

R. C. Kinsman —

These wages for Jan—& Feb month in advance —

Feb. 1st. 1847 —

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Compradore,

Pay Tailor 3 days work 75 cts. Job 5 cts —  
80 cts.

R. C. Kinsman

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Compradore —

Pay Wash Man for one month's washing (for January)  
393 pieces—\$7.86

Feb 4 1847

R. C. Kinsman

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Compradore —

Pay Shoemaker	3 prs. Shoes for Mrs. Rawle	\$2.25
	1 pr. leather shoes for self	\$1.00
	1 pr. boots for self	\$1.50
	2 prs. Shoes Natty —	\$1.50
	” ” Abbott —	\$1.00

\$7.25

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Macao Feb 6th 1847 R. C. Kinsman

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\$7.25

Compradore —

Pay tailor (Short) \$1.50—for 6 days work—making black Silk dress & Mantila —

R. C. Kinsman —

Feb. 28th 1847

\$1.50

... Admiral Cecille of the French frigate *La Cléopâtre* was paying his parting calls yesterday, preparatory to leaving to-day. He goes hence, I believe, to the Isle of Bourbon, and will not reach home for another year. They have been absent already more than five years from France. The officers are of course all very anxious to see la belle France once more. Mons. de Bécour the French Consul here, is appointed to be Consul at Manila—to leave here in 3 or 4 months, and we are to have a Chargé here in his stead, a person of more consideration than a Consul. . . . Natty said to me, before going to sleep tonight, "Mother, if you hear anyone knock at your door tonight, you may know it is Father"—I hope I may be thus disturbed—Farewell dearest.

*Fourth Day, Eve'g 3rd of 3d Month.* Natty was right—yesterday morning at about 3 o'clock, a knock was heard at my door, & a well known voice saying "Wifey"—I was up quickly and unlocked the door—It was my dear husband—arrived after a passage of 36 hours—very tedious, but he had pleasant weather, and is very well. . . . The missionaries have at length succeeded in obtaining a house at Canton, and Mr French & Dr Hopper expect to remove immediately with their Scholars, leaving Mr & Mrs. Speer here for the Summer—Poor Mrs. Speer is very feeble & her cough very troublesome—we fear for her. . . . We expect to leave tomorrow for Canton to remain 2 or 3 weeks, not longer probably. I hope we shall arrive up safely, and have pleasant weather while there, tho' this can hardly be expected, as the season for damp & rainy weather is approaching, but it will be as well there as here. Our trunks are all packed & boat engaged, & we shall leave tomorrow, if the wind is favorable & all are well—I hoped we might have gone in the steamer, but she has gone outside to tow in some Junks, which have got to leeward. . . . We heard yesterday that the *Horatio* would leave Whampoa today and touch here for Mr. & Mrs. Graham (passengers)—Mr. G. is very, very ill, apparently wasting away rapidly—yet they feel as if a sea voyage *might* restore him, & as there is no hope for him if he remains here, they think best to embark. Mrs. G. is not well herself & they

have a child of 17 months old & no servant at all to assist them—I can hardly imagine a more dismal prospect than this poor woman has before her, yet she appears cheerful. . . . Ammah has been *dining out* today, and Baby has missed her very much—I have been very busy all day packing & making various arrangements, & feel tired this evening. I am anticipating with pleasure being with my husband for a few weeks to come. I shall attend to ordering the three shawls & I hope I shall be able to get one made for dear Mother, but my last attempt proved unsuccessful. The Chinese do not seem to understand making anything entirely plain. . . . Nathl. brought me down several pretty presents from some of his Chinese friends. We are always particularly reminded of our departed one by the receipt of pretty presents. She was such an admirer of the beautiful in every shape—But she is now, I doubt not, enjoying enduring beauties, and I would that my faith was stronger, always to see & think of her thus.

. . . My love to my dear Father & Mother, brothers & Sisters, our dear friends in Brown St., particularly Mary Anne—and all our cousins & friends—and very particularly to our darling Willie—In all these messages, my husband cordially unites—With much love, my darling Sister, I remain as ever thy truly affectionate

Rebecca

Canton. 3d Mo 13th, 1847  
Seventh day afternoon.

My dearly beloved Sister. We left at about noon in a Lorch, (a small Portuguese vessel) as we found the steamer would not be likely to be there for several days, or perhaps weeks, and after a comfortable & pleasant passage of 27 hours reached here at about 4 P M on Sixth day (yesterday). Were welcomed by Mr Moore, & before I had taken off my shawl & bonnet, Mrs Forbes, Mrs Rawle & Mary, & many gentlemen were here, having seen the children on the Square and come in to see if I was here also. Dr & Mrs Parker came in to tea & passed the evening. Mr Moore was obliged to leave us at nine o'clock to go to a *Ball*, given by a Billiard Club, & which all the ladies attended except Mrs Parker. There has been a great deal of gayety here the last week or two. Mr Moore gave a very splendid party at this house a few evenings since—had a band of music up from Macao for the occasion. We deferred coming up until it had passed, but Mr Moore says, until he heard expressly from Nath'l to

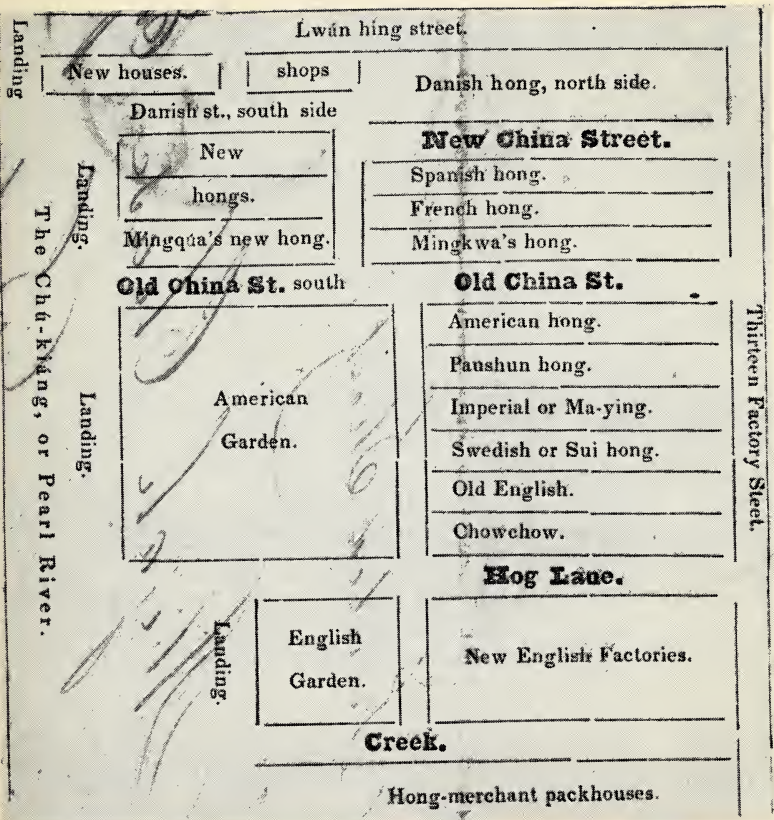


the contrary, he expected I would have been here to preside. I have little fancy or inclination for these gayeties now. Second day 15th. The weather is charming, my dear Sister, and the dear children well, so thee may imagine how pleasant I find it to be here with my dear husband—Yesterday, I went to meeting with my husband & Natty. The congregation here is much larger than at Macao—two rooms well filled. . . . The singing was fine. In the evening, I went to a prayer meeting at Dr Bridgman's. The contrast is great between life here and at Macao. Here there is so much going on all the time the leisure moments are few—Natty finds many companions and enjoys himself highly—Abbott too is very happy. . . . I have not yet been out to walk on the Square. Mrs. Forbes came in after her walk, last evening & sat awhile, and asked me to come in to tea with her this evening, which I accepted. I have had many visitors. . . . Several Chinese gentlemen have called today. Among others Ahoe, formerly Mr. Cushing's servant, who went twice with him to America, but now a Tea Merchant. He speaks perfectly good English, and is a fine looking Man—He was splendidly drest in Mandarin Satin. He told me a story of a Child who was stolen—the only son of a widow, who offered half of all her worldly possessions to get him back, but in vain. She was at first told that he should be restored to her by paying \$500—to which she agreed, then the price was raised to \$700—then to a thousand & finally to fifteen hundred dollars; beyond which she said she could not go. But more was still demanded—At length, one morning, she opened her door, & on the step lay her child in a basket—*boiled!* Did thee ever imagine anything so dreadful? The poor mother fainted at the sight, and well she might. The story seems too dreadful to be credited, but Ahoe assured us it was strictly true—and the Missionaries have heard the story from another source. He told also of the two sons of a Tea Merchant being taken. A man came to the house, and told his wife he wanted her boys. She offered him freely her clothes, jewels, any or everything the house contained, including money—He said no—he wanted nothing, but the boys—that he wanted them for his own, & they would be taken good care of—better than she could take. Entreaty was of no avail, & the two boys were taken away by the man. After an absence of 8 months, they were returned but the Father was obliged to pay about \$1100 (?) to get them back. They were returned in perfect health and had evidently been

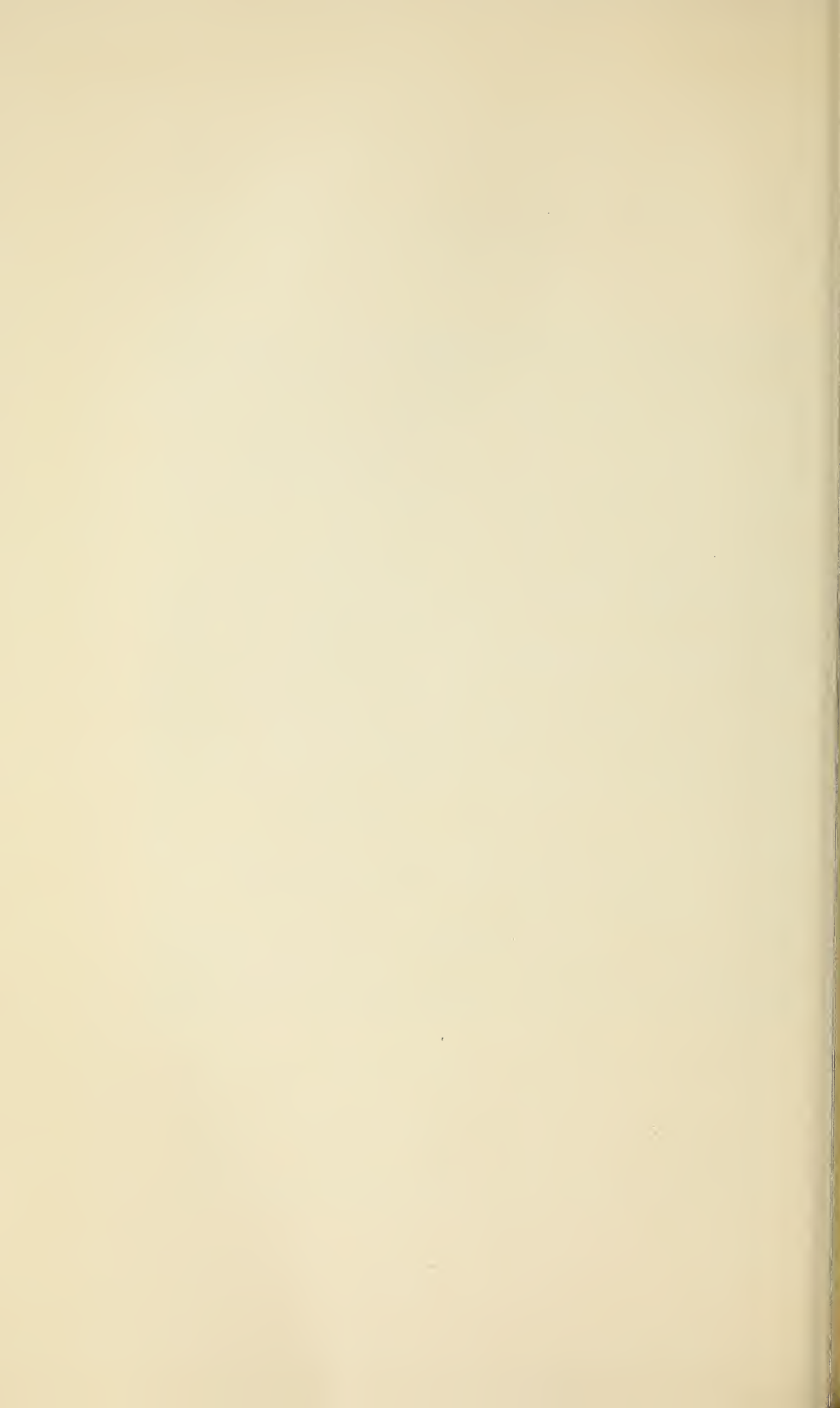
taken the best care of. They said themselves that they had been supplied with everything they could wish, in the way of food, clothes, and playthings, & a woman had devoted herself to them—*playing cards with them all day*. I enquired why they did not apply to the Government; Ahoe replied that they were afraid to take any legal measures—that the boys probably passed through as many as a dozen hands before they came to the person who finally kept them, and that if any coercive measures had been used towards the person who appeared in the affair, the boys would have been secretly, but surely put out of the way and no clue to their fate have ever been discovered. Is it not almost incredible, that such things can be submitted to?

Fourth day 17th. Last Evening, my husband and I, taking Natty with us, went out on the River, and enjoyed a delightful sail. Mrs. Parker & her husband & Mrs. Forbes came in to tea and also Mr. Buckler, Wm. Robinson & Mr. Buell. The latter gentleman came dressed in splendid Chinese Costume Cap-a-pie from Cap to Boots literally—the most magnificent dress I have ever seen—one he has had made to take home, & he says he is having a lady's dress made also. He was so much changed by the dress, that when he came in, at first no one knew him. . . . Visitors coming in. Among them Mr. Lillyvalch (pronounced Lillyvak) the Swedish Consul, a fine looking man and very intelligent. I have not been out much since I have been here, but think I shall have a walk on the Square this afternoon with Mr. Moore.

Seventh day 20th. Dearest Sis—I can only find time for a few lines at a sitting, as there are such constant interruptions here, far more even than at Macao . . . On fifth day, I staid at home as usual, many people in till after dinner, when Mrs. Parker, Mrs. Bridgman and myself, with Mr. Moore & Wm. Robinson went on the River in the Hong boat. The day had been very warm & I found it delightful. Yesterday, the rains commenced with thunder & lightning—and it rained constantly nearly all day. While at the breakfast table, I received a note from Mrs. Watson, and soon afterward, the very agreeable information that the *Paul Jones* had arrived at H. Kong—I had previously requested that my letters might be sent here, instead of to Macao, so at about ten o'clock they came in—5 sheets from thee, 3 from dear Mary Anne, one from Mary Foote, two from Sophia Hawthorne, and one from Hannah Webb. We feel highly favoured indeed. Just before they came in, Jacob Rogers sent me some



FROM THE "CHINESE REPOSITORY" OF JULY, 1846, TELLING OF THE RIOT





Salem papers, his dispatches having come, a little before mine. . . . And so ended the day. I mentioned these various little matters that thee might see how time is frittered away. . . . A beautiful bouquet of roses & other flowers from Mr. Bull, brought thee to mind. I tho't thee would have enjoyed them so much, and a pretty col'd (colored) German glass to contain them. . . . This is a very disagreeable day, warm and damp, & showering frequently—now is commencing the most disagreeable season of the year—I fear the weather may drive us back soon, but I hope not, it is so pleasant to be again with Nathaniel—I have no wish to go out. In the intervals of business, he comes up & sits with me, and we talk over what is going on &c—such a privilege it seems after being alone so long—After dinner—visitors again—among others, Mr. Roberts, the missionary, of whom I have spoken to thee long ago, I think. Mary Anne can tell thee about him—he is a Baptist but not connected with any one else—quite on his own hook—I asked him how he progressed in his intercourse with the Chinese. He said pretty well—constantly gaining ground in their minds—had baptised five or Six, who had been converted to Christianity within the past year. He is said to be quite a favourite with the Chinese in whose neighbourhood he resides—Has made acquaintance with one of the petty officers, who told him he might come and invite two of his friends to come with him to the guard house, to witness an *execution* to take place at the “execution ground” a few days since—so they went—*Eleven* were executed; and Mr. R says more than a hundred have met the same fate since China New Year, about one month; these men were brought to the place, Mr. Bull told me, who saw it, in baskets, thrown carelessly down like Animals, some on one side & some on the other of the narrow streets—poor wretched, emaciated, unshaven beings probably nearly starved in prison beforehand; they were made to kneel and lay their heads on a log of wood, exposing the back of the neck to the executioner—who with one blow severed the head from the body—Not a sound escaped them—or sign of emotion, except that one man turned his head, when he was taken from the basket, & gave a sort of hysterical laugh—Three heads are said to be as many as one executioner can take off in one day, as it requires great strength to sever them at a blow—and I have been told that a powder is administered beforehand to give him strength to go through with his dreadful duty. Is it not too shocking to humanity?—So little atten-

tion did it attract, & so every day a matter is it, that the passersby in the narrow street did not even pause on their way, to look, but went on, as if nothing was happening.—It is late, & growing dark, so I cannot write much more now. Natty has gone out on the Square with Nelly—I hope he will not take cold, his father is there too, so he will not let him go on the grass to wet his feet—This morning, we heard of the arrival at Macao, of the *Cincinnati*—Capt. Codman—after a passage of *six months!* just think. . . . We were very glad to get some letters from dear Willie—It is a prevailing custom here to make calls on First day, but one which I do not approve. Among others, who came today, was Mr. MacGregor, the British Consul a very pleasant *little*, elderly man. It exercises Natty's curiosity to know why he does not grow larger. . . . I sent this morning for Gouqua, the fan Merchant, to get some fans for thee—he promises them tomorrow—I hope to send them by the *Vancouver*—This same Gouqua is one of the most good-natured obliging men in the world. . . .

Canton, Third Month 21st 1847

My dearly beloved Sister. Thee will perceive by my date, my change of location since my last Overland, a month since. . . . It was unpleasant this morning, but is lovely this afternoon, and the Square looks very lively & pleasant, many people walking there. . . . This morning for the first time we have been out to do a little shopping but did not accomplish much. . . . The *Candace* is not yet here. It is a pity she should have been beaten by the *Paul Jones*, as they made such remarkably fine passages both ways last year. They sailed this time within a day of each other, the one from Boston, the other from New York. . . . I have been at Mrs. Forbes' this morning—When I came home, I found Mrs. Parker here—She had been to call on Mrs. & Miss Codman, from Baltimore, who arrived yesterday in the *Cincinnati*. They are very pleasant people—Miss C an uncommonly pretty girl of 17—but they will not remain here long. The accounts from dear Willie are on the whole gratifying—Perhaps it would be unreasonable to expect more. We must live in great measure by faith, in the training up of a child—I am convinced. . . . I long for the time, when we shall have a home of our own, when our dear boys can together enjoy the comforts & privileges of a home under the care of their father, whose influence over them is very desirable. Natty

remained at Mrs. Forbes' all day. She sent word by John, she wished him to remain. He came home at 8 this evening on *John's back*, as he said the street was full of water from the rains. . . . I am sorry to hear of the death of Stephen Nichols and the illness of Uncle Ichabod—I was thinking the other day who there could be now in our little meeting, to sit with Father, on the raised Seat. . . . Thy plan of going to England, dear Sis, is a delightful one, & our coming home Overland to meet you there—but I am sorry to say, more delightful than feasible—In the first place, we could not consent to be separated from the children—& with them, the expense of an Overland journey from China, would be entirely beyond our means. In the Second, we can not leave here in time to meet you there, leaving this winter or Spring—for we do not expect to leave before Autumn—however, about the time of our leaving we cannot decide until Mr. Wetmore arrives. . . . I too hope Abbott will not lose his Chinese, but there is, I fear, little hope of his retaining it, after he leaves his beloved Ammah. . . . The newly discovered gas must be a blessing indeed—Mrs. Everett's niece wrote her of having a very painful tooth extracted, under its influence, of which she was quite unconscious. What may we not expect art & Science to accomplish! . . . With regard to dear Willie's learning to draw, I think a year or two hence will be quite in time. It would be a pity he should not practice his music certainly—I am surprised that Aunt E does not feel sufficient interest to provide some means for his practising—if her own piano is too fine for the purpose—I wonder how long it requires a person to live in the world, to become so much accustomed to its ways as to cease to be surprised at its selfishness & calculation—appear when & where they may. For my own part, I am continually meeting with disappointment. But this is to be preferred to being on the lookout for evil. . . . I must have been very remiss not to have acknowledged to my dear father the receipt of the rubber shoes he had the kindness to send—they were very nice, my Dear Father, but not adapted to the climate. The gentlemen here in wet weather, wear mostly very thick English shoes, which are brought out here for sale & are preferred to any others—and the ladies never go out in wet weather except in chairs. Sixth day, Morning 28th of 3d Mo. My dear Sis . . . We had thunder and lightning all night & at four this morning a very heavy shower; It is so dark, that I am writing by a lamp at 10 o'clock in the fore-

noon. . . . I too like an evening dinner very much, and should much prefer it, if it suited Nath'l's health as well. He has been suffering lately from an unusually bad attack of dyspepsia, but I hope it is passing off. I am glad to have been here with him just now particularly—he is very lonely—has few or no congenial companions. . . . I have not yet found time to read the second number of "Mosses from the Manse" or the other little books thee sent per *Paul Jones*, but they look attractive. I wish thee to thank Sophia Hawthorne for her kind excellent letter & tell her I am much obliged to her for it. . . .

Third day Morning, 23d of March. Dearest Sis. . . . Dr. Parker has been in to pay us his accustomed morning visit—We are always glad to see him, and he is very fond of the children. As they have not been quite well for a few days, he comes regularly to see them. He wishes to change Abbott's complexion a little if possible, which I have told thee, has always been so very pale—He thinks his blood has not colouring matter enough in it, and has given me some powders of a preparation of Iron for him. . . . Nelly has come in to play with Natty & brought her paint-box, and they are amusing themselves very quietly and happily in painting the pictures in Mother Goose's Melodies. Nelly is a fine child, and her influence on Natty very desirable. Lamqua<sup>7</sup> is painting her portrait, and is succeeding admirably with the likeness—I wish we could have as good a one of Natty. I have been trying to persuade Nathaniel to have his portrait taken, but in vain he is so much occupied with business, that he can hardly spare the time. . . . The air is so pure and fresh this morning, that I go to the window occasionally to inhale a full draught of it. It invigorates me—but thee could not enjoy nor any one else, the weather we may expect for two months to come. The rains have commenced and now I fear the fine weather is mostly over for the present, however there are intervals of sunshine almost every day, even if it rains a part of the day. It is now 11 A.M., Abbott is taking his nap—Dr. Parker had a little chat with him in Chinese this morning. . . .

Seventh day 27th. Have I mentioned that Mrs. Ryan & five of her children intend going home in the *Cincinnati*, if they can get passage in her? The children are one or other of them constantly getting sick, & the expense of living here so

<sup>7</sup> Lamqua painted Ecce's portrait when the Kinsmans first arrived.



great, that they have come to a very *wise* conclusion, I think, in deciding to go home, as Mr. Ryan says he expects to be here an indefinite number of years. I heard of another intended departure yesterday, that of Mr. Ritchie & family in the *Paul Jones*, within a few weeks—Mr. R. has not been well for several months, and fears to remain here after the warm weather comes on. I shall feel very sorry to have Mrs. Ritchie leave before we do—she will be more missed than almost any person in Macao. These constant & repeated departures make us long for the time to come, when we too may take our leave. Nath'l thinks now he shall not be able to arrange his business so as to leave satisfactorily before next Autumn, but I cannot help indulging a lingering hope that after Mr. Wetmore arrives, some arrangement may be made to enable us to leave earlier. . . . Were it not for Mrs. Forbes I should feel as if I were left quite alone, but I hope after Mr. Wetmore's arrival, my husband will be able to be more in Macao—I shall feel for a time more lonely than ever after I go back.

First day 28th. . . . Natty is standing in the room, near me, having his clothes changed by John. His dress is a black velvet jacket and plaid pants . . . Nath'l thinks Miss Codman looks very much like Ellen—I do not see this resemblance, but think she looks like Lucy Nichols, who married Ingersoll Bowditch. Does thee recollect her looks? . . . It is a great comfort to have my husband to enclose my letters for me. At Macao, beside the envelope to Father, in which they reach you, I am obliged to enclose that to Mr. Peabody, London, as by a ridiculous regulation at the H. Kong P. Office, no letters will be forwarded directed simply to care of an agent in London, but we are obliged to *enclose* the letters to him, & then again I must enclose them to some one at H. Kong to be forwarded—All this trouble I am spared here. . . . Tho' I long intensely now to reach home I shall try to be patient & happy during the remainder of the time we must remain here. We have certainly much to be grateful for.

(2d Sheet of a later letter)  
(probably March, 1847. First  
(sheet lost

(A Visit to a Chinese Household, Poukiequa's)—One of the ladies was ill so he explained her symptoms to Dr. Parker, who promised to send her some medicine and the old gentleman seemed much relieved, when in reply to his question of

"No fear?" Dr. P. replied affirmatively—"No fear." Dr. P said her disease was dyspepsia. The last wife "have catchy only one year before," a pretty young creature of not more than 16 apparently. We had some bonbons, or sugar plums, which Mr. Robinson had taken the precaution to provide, with which they were much pleased—After taking leave of them & joining the gentlemen again, we were invited into another apartment where tea & sweetmeats & fruits, fresh & dried, were provided. We were seated at a round table (marble top) the host with us. He served various titbits to us on his own fork according to Chinese etiquette, & was very sociable—he spoke English (China English) very well. We were then taken through various labyrinthine passages—to the *Chapel* or Jos house, belonging to the establishment, a very handsome one. Here our host took a kind leave of us, and in charge of a servant, we were shown into the apartments of his eldest son—a fine looking young man, & of his pretty wife—a sweet young creature. Here we were welcomed with great apparent pleasure—invited at once into the lady's apartment, & shown her dresses &c—finding we took particular notice of the tiny shoes, she gave each of us a pair, partly worn, the more valuable on that account, as it could hardly be credited otherwise that they had ever been on human feet—so wonderfully small. To Mrs. Codman she gave one of her head-ornaments—a silver bodkin with silver wires attached to it in the form of a small basket, on which were placed fragrant flowers. To Miss Codman—she gave a basket of flowers she carried in her hand—The love of flowers seems universal among them. We came away highly pleased and gratified with our visit. They expressed to us by the language of signs that we were to conceal the shoes—when we left the room, & hunted about my dress for a hiding place, before I could discover what they wished me to understand. At length, when I put them in my pocket, they were delighted. There was a fine looking woman, who seemed to have the control of things—she directed the young wife what to do &c.—She had large feet, & was, we suspected, a sort of housekeeper. We got home at about half past six o'clock—found Mrs. Forbes & Mr. Buckler here, sitting with my husband—I was very sorry that he could not go—I am sure he would have enjoyed it so much. This was the first time that I had seen any *real* Chinese ladies.—Ponkiegua's house is decorated with fine large really immense French Mirrors, French time pieces, of which the Chinese are very

fond, & coloured French engravings. The whole house & grounds were in fine order. Dr. Parker told us he felt greatly relieved, when we were safely back, for he thought if the report of the English being at Whampoa were known, we might have been in much danger, in passing thro' that Canal—but the idea of danger did not once occur to me.<sup>8</sup>

Capt. Kinsman, more than a year before this, described a similar situation, when the last instalment of the indemnity was delivered.

Canton January 1st 1846—Thursday

My dearly beloved Wife: There has been some ill feeling on the part of a portion of the Chinese of late, toward the English, in consequence of Gov. Davis insisting upon the city being thrown open for free ingress & egress of foreigners. The Eng. Gov't have insisted on this right being granted before they would receive the last instalment from the Chinese, or give up Chusan, Keying has all along been willing to grant the privilege demanded, but he has been strongly opposed by the "gentry." An edict or chop has been posted up giving foreigners the free liberty of the City, & now it is said an outbreak is threatened & the destruction of the factories.

. . . Friday P.M. 16th Jan'y.

All remains perfectly quiet here, but the rumours of a threatened attack on the factories has created considerable alarm in the community, and I learn some of the ladies are to leave this evening for Whampoa. . . . This precaution is all very proper. I do not apprehend any outbreak or any danger whatever. If trouble does come I shall take special good care to protect my only treasure *here*. [small son Natty]. . . . The house of the Quon chowfoo,—Mayor of the city—was burnt by the mob last night—for this act of the people I do not blame them in the least, they had ample cause for vengeance, and a proof that they were right, is the

8 After the treaties between China & England, & China & the U. S. there were increasing difficulties between the Chinese & the English. The English held certain islands as security for the payment of the indemnity (6 million dollars) demanded for the opium seized by the Chinese in 1839, the beginning of the Opium War. Sir John Francis Davis was the English plenipotentiary & Keying was the Chinese Viceroy. One chief point of irritation was the question of the right under the British treaty of entrance to Canton. The British demanded that the gates of the city be opened to foreigners; the Chinese absolutely refused. (Tyler Dennett)

fact of his (the Mayor) having been disgraced & dismissed from office today by Keying. . . . Saturday 17th PM. Several ladies have left here today for Whampoa. Strange to say, there is not a single English ship now at Whampoa. . . . Yesterday we had our arms & ammunition (Quey tuo M's) (?) overhauled & made ready for use, But I have no idea they will be required. Still it is well, "in Peace to prepare for war." There were never so many foreign residents at Canton as at the present time, and in case of an attack by the mob, the long tails would be easily dispersed. I shall certain *kill my man* if we are attacked, at least one. . . . All remains perfectly quiet here, and I still think people have been needlessly alarmed, I have never seen cause to apprehend an outbreak. The burning of the house of the Quen Chow foo in the city was the "pigeon" of the Chinese themselves and had no possible reference to foreigners. One thing however, is certain, that is, the Mandarins have in a great measure lost their authority & power over the people, no better evidence of which is than the fact that the government were yesterday afraid to transmit the Indemnity money from the City to the British Consulate, an English Steamer lies off the Consulate in readiness to receive the last instalment, which was to have been paid yesterday. The current report is, as I have stated above, the Authorities (Chinese) are afraid the mob will attack the carriers, and rescue, or plunder the treasure on its way, to prevent its being paid to the English government. It was reported yesterday that the *Columbus* & *Vincennes* had been ordered up to Whampoa, to be near at hand in the event of assistance being needed from them—which, as a precautionary measure, is all very proper.

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(Mrs. Kinsman's letter continued)

Seventh day Eve'g 3rd. 1847 This has been an exciting day indeed, but I despair my dear Sister, of conveying to thee any adequate idea of the transactions. While I was writing this morning, news came that the steamers were on their way up, and that the troops had landed & taken possession of each fort as they came along—spiking all the guns—& where any resistance was offered, destroying the fort by fire—The report true. Before two P M, the *Corsair* & *Pluto* arrived with several fast-boats & Lorchas, full of soldiers, artillery with their cannon &c. A strange sight, to see their decks crowded with red-coats—The Fort directly opposite



the factories across the river met the same fate—her guns were all spiked, & others in the inner Macao passage above the factories—in all nearly a *thousand guns!* The troops are all landed, except 150 left on board the *Vulture* at Whampoa, & quartered about the foreign factories—guards are set at the gates opening into the street in front of us—& in all directions near us. The two steamers lie at anchor opposite us—Everything looks like a fresh declaration of War. Mrs. Forbes sent me word this morning about eleven o'clock that she was packing up to be in readiness for a start at a moment's notice, intending if it should be necessary to leave, to go on board the *Paul Jones* at Whampoa, and inviting us to accompany her. Soon afterward Nathaniel came in, and told me I had better pack up—which I did accordingly, and have been all day in readiness to leave—but this evening was obliged to unpack again to find a dress to put on, as we had visitors at dinner. Mr. Moore had invited the Codmans, & a few friends to meet them, to dine here at 6, & I had promised to dine with them, tho' Nath'l was not able to do so. . . . I have had no idea all day that the dinner would "come off" but as all seemed quiet, our visitors came, & we had a pleasant evening—my presence was divided between the parlour & my husband's room—Good night, dear Sister, we know not what the morrow may bring forth, but go to rest, trusting that He, who protects the humblest of his creatures, will have us all in His holy keeping—

1st day 4th 1847.

How unlike a Sabbath has this been to us at Canton. At about ten o'clock this morning Mr. Moore came to my room asking me to put my bonnet on and go with him to Mr. Dale's house, to see Keying who was coming to the British Consulate (next door to Mr. Dale's) to meet Governor Davis. Accordingly I put on my bonnet with all haste, and Nathaniel, Nattie and I accompanied Mr. Moore—found Mrs. Forbes and one or two English ladies and several gentlemen already there. The windows commanded a fine view of the landing. Eleven was the hour appointed—but Keying did not arrive until half past twelve. It would not be consistent with Chinese dignity to be punctual in an appointment. The Troops were all drawn up in order to receive him—numbering about 1000—some say from twelve to fifteen hundred—and preparations were made for a Salute—but as he did not come at the hour, they were disbanded, and no Salute given him. This may have been partly to show him that the Eng-

lish were determined not to be trifled with, and partly because they were unwilling to expose the troops any longer to the hot sun. A Mandarin boat, gayly ornamented with flags came first, and three dignitaries landed—one of them a fine looking man wearing the Peacock feather and a gold button, we thought must be Keying, but they were only *inferior Mandarin's attendants*—then half an hour afterward Keying came himself in a similar boat—with two attendants—The three were carried from the landing to the house in Sedan Chairs each borne by eight or ten bearers—apparently people of respectability. The three who came first, *walked* from the boat to the house—A very narrow opening only separates Mr. Dale's house from the Consul's and the windows of the room where we were, were exactly opposite those of the one in which Keying was received, so that we had a very fine view of the whole. There was a great deal of chin-chinning and shaking of hands between all parties and at last all were seated. They partook of some refreshments at which several persons, English and Chinese, were present—after which Keying and Wong, Governor Davis, and Messrs. Gutzlaff<sup>9</sup> and Meadows, interpreters, seated themselves around a table—no one else in the room except a Chinese page, a pretty boy in attendance on Keying—and commenced operations. We could not hear as the windows of their room were closed, but could *see* all that went on. There was much gesture and each party *seemed* very determined in his own opinion, and as the language of *manner* is very expressive, we fancied we could understand how matters progressed from time to time—Keying seemed to insist as long as possible upon his rights, and finally to give up, because he was obliged to, which was, I suspect, the case. The result of the interview will probably be known by and by. It lasted some two or three hours. Tho' Wong, as I informed thee some time since was disgraced, he has been permitted to return to Canton, and I suspect in some measure reinstated, altho' deprived of his gold button and Peacock

9 Reverend Doctor Charles Gutzlaff, a medical missionary, was a Prussian who spoke and wrote Cantonese and had mastered other local dialects. He toured among the villages distributing translations of the Bible and tracts, also ointments and pills. He was persuaded to act as interpreter for the opium smugglers up the Chinese coast, and he was indispensable to the English as interpreter during the troubles with the first opium war. He was summarized as "an elderly and venerable old fraud of a man" by Maurice Collins in "Foreign Mud."

feather. After staying at Mr. Dale's for two or three hours I came away—the other ladies remained for tiffin. On our way back, just as we left the house, there was a rumor of an attack on the Danish Hong, and a party of the Royal Irish came rushing by us hastening to the spot. Soon after, another reinforcement was called for, and Gen. D'Aguilas himself was on his way, when just opposite our house a messenger met him, saying it was all over and soon the soldiers returned. It did not prove to be anything serious. Dr. Parker brought Mrs. P. in that she might see what was going on, as they are living in a back hong, where they can see nothing—I hope this excitement will not increase my dear husband's disease.

2nd day morning 5th.

We are ordered immediately to Whampoa, and Wetmore & Co.'s Treasure and books are to be sent likewise. The shop men have become alarmed and are removing all their goods from the shops, and this is considered a pretty sure omen of danger from the mob. I shall go with the children on board the *Paul Jones*, and Mrs. Forbes and her children likewise—but for the children I should much prefer remaining here—my husband is so very unwell, that I cannot bear to leave him, and for myself I should apprehend no danger. We are so near the river and the Steamers being anchored nearly opposite us, we could escape at any moment—but on account of the children I suppose it is most prudent to go; all seem to think so, so I yield. We leave at noon.

4th day 7th.

Here we are back again—and all is quiet—Keying having agreed to Sir John's demands except that of immediate entrance into the city, which has been waived for the present. Two years from yesterday, the City Gates are to be opened to foreigners—at least so says Keying now. On second day at noon, a large party of us, consisting of Mrs. Forbes, children and servants, Mrs. and Miss Codman and Capt. C.—and William Robinson, embarked in the Hong Boat belonging to W. & Co. for Whampoa—The boat was attached to a fast-boat, on board of which was a large amount of Treasure, belonging to different Commercial houses, protected by five or six American captains, and a “pull away” boat alongside very strongly manned. We had a long passage down as the tide was against us. I felt very sorry to be obliged to leave Nathaniel there, but he could not leave at such a time of danger. Reached there at about five P. M.

The Codmans went on board their own ship the *Cincinnati*. In the evening, Dr. and Mrs. Bridgeman and Elizabeth Ball and sister went down on board the *Candace* and the Ryans on board some other ship. It happened very fortunately that there were several ships there just now—a week or two since there was not one American. Nattie enjoyed himself highly with Nellie F. and Jennie Watkins, but Abbott was not happy, and wanted to “go home”—and “his own bed.” On fourth day, Nathaniel came for us and we all returned and were glad to get back, for the comforts of a house are far greater than those of even a comfortable ship. It was fortunate we were away yesterday, for they say affairs wore a very threatening aspect. Keying’s answer was long delayed, and every preparation was made, in the event of its being unfavorable, to bombard the city at once. Engineers had examined the wall, and the place selected where an entrance was to be forced. The “Sappers and Miners” had made all their arrangements—a rumor was brought to the commanding officer that the Chinese had laid a mine under each of the gates, which was to be fired, at the moment the English were entering. To prevent this tremendous destruction of life, it was determined to send a Sargeant with six men in advance of the others and thus risk their lives to save their fellows. It was estimated by the English, that had the city been bombarded, the lowest estimated of the killed, within its walls, would have been 20,000. In that crowded and densely populated city, there could have been no escape for thousands of the helpless women and children. The *Shells* which were to have been thrown, were of such a nature that nothing could extinguish them. Keying’s answer came just in time, under Providence, to save the city. Governor Davis is much censured by many of his countrymen for making so much fuss and accomplishing so little—certainly the little we know to have been accomplished would ill repay such an expenditure of money and trouble, as this expedition must have cost, but there may and I think are, other matters not made public and which we shall not probably know till they are made public through the English papers. Many people however say, that Governor Davis did as well as he could under the circumstances—that his orders from home were peremptory, but the force at his command not sufficient to carry out the orders. He might have taken Canton but could not have left troops enough to defend it, without leaving Hong Kong entirely unguarded. As it was, the small force



left there, was constantly threatened by bands of ladrones, and it was rumored that several thousands of men were stationed at a neighboring island, ready to pounce upon Hong Kong the minute our attack should be made upon Canton. There is no doubt that the community here is in a more unprotected state than before this affair—or at least will be after the troops are withdrawn—because the people have become very much excited and exasperated. At present, about seventy men are left here—all the rest withdrawn—Keying engaging to protect foreigners with his own soldiers, provided the English soldiery are withdrawn—I believe some of the ladies are yet at Whampoa, but will probably return in a day or two, if all continues quiet. The weather remains very fine. . . . *3rd day 13th. Macao.* Here we are at home once more. The steamer *Corsair* being advertised to leave for Macao last evening, we decided to come in her, though it was rather sooner than we intended coming—but the steamer was too valuable an opportunity to miss, in these troubled times, and in my husband's delicate health. We went on board soon after dinner, say five o'clock, in order to get all arranged before dark, but the boat did not leave until half past eleven, arriving here at about half past nine this morning. Nathaniel passed a very restless night. *Macao 4th mo. 23rd 1847.* . . . You will hear by the papers, of the threatened war at Canton, of Sir John Davis' going up with a large number of troops, of the threatened war being averted, etc.—of all this I have written by the *Sea Witch*, and cannot repeat it now. Whether this excitement aggravated the disease or not I do not know, but think it likely—though Nathaniel is not aware of its doing so. . . . Since we have been here the weather has been very fine and we all hope the change of air would have done the dear invalid much good but he has grown constantly weaker and is now confined constantly to his bed. . . . Dr. Parker arrived down very unexpectedly on 3rd day the 20th, having heard from me of my husband's increased illness. It has been quite a comfort to me to have him here but he could not remain longer, and left again this morning—Dr. Watson is very kind indeed and comes in many times during the day and evening. I am very, very anxious, but calm & thankful my own health is good, that I can minister to his comfort. The children are well, & it is a great comfort that John is here. Mrs. Ritchie came in last Eve'g to say goodbye. She leaves this morning in the *Paul Jones*. I feel sad to have her leave, for she has been a kind

friend to me, and one from whom, I felt I could call at any time of need—Mr. Ritchie *takes command* of the *Paul Jones* home and Capt. Watkins remains here to take command of the *Antelope* to & from Bombay. Mrs. Everett & Mrs. Gillespie have been very kind in coming in to offer their services, but I can do all that anyone can do for my beloved husband's relief. . . . The *Sea Witch* arrived last week—on the 9th. She is said to be the most beautiful specimen of Naval Architecture ever seen in these waters. The English unite with the Americans in according her unlimited praise. She is commanded by our old acquaintance, Capt. Waterman of the *Natchez*. I am sorry you did not know of her leaving. She brought letters to almost everyone else—however, we shall receive letters by the *Howqua* which will soon be here. I should not have written you so fully about dear Nathaniel, knowing that I shall excite great anxiety in your mind, but for the knowledge that my next letters Overland, will anticipate this, & by that time, his disease will I trust be better—some change must soon take place I think. His own spirits are very good, & he is expecting soon to be better. Mr. Wetmore will be here in a few days, & then he will feel less anxiety—and perfect quiet is very important for him. . . . I wish I could write to dear Willie, and several of my friends as I intended, but I cannot now—my mind is too troubled and anxious.

Macao 4th Mo 23d, 1847

. . . My dear husband's mind is clear & calm, tho' his body is very weak. He still *hopes* to recover, for the sake of the many who are dependent on him, but is, I think, in good measure resigned to the Will of God—let the event be as it may. . . . Mrs. Speer, of whom I have so often spoken, was released from her mansion of clay, on 6th day last, a week ago. . . . Her dear little baby of 3 months old, is a pretty creature, left motherless in a land of strangers. . . . I feel very much alone, but hope to have a friend to stay with me, before many days—Mrs. Forbes is yet at Canton, but will be back very soon—I shall be glad to have her return, she is so kind a friend, and then Natty can be with Nelly a great deal of the time & I shall feel safe about him—now that John is obliged to be with me mostly, Natty has no particular caretaker. Nath'l spoke of his mother this morning—"poor old lady"—said he—"what would she think, could she look now upon her son?" He is sadly changed indeed. . . . I bless the merciful providence of God, that prevented my leaving

him last year with our beloved child. How bitter would have been my reflections, had I done so. At Canton, it was a great comfort to him to have me with him, & here at his own home what could he have done without me. . . . My dear husband desires his warmest love to you all—to his dear Mother in particular, Sister Mary & her children, his dear nieces—and all my family. My dear husband's last act before leaving Canton, was to pack up several cases of Teas, as Cumshaws to his friends at home. They will be sent by the *Candace*—& I am sure highly prized by you. . . . Your affectionate, tho' sorrowing

Rebecca

Macao 5th Mo. 16th 1847

My beloved Parents & Sisters & Brothers—

All is over—and you I trust are in some measure prepared for the intelligence this must communicate. Your Rebecca is desolate—a Widow in a foreign land far from those who love her—I do not, cannot realize it. I wrote you last, I think, on the 23d of April—from that time till the morning of the 30th my beloved husband grew constantly weaker, when at half past five his spirit took its flight to the better land & left me a desolate woman. He did not suffer much, I think, after I wrote you last. The disease was called a thickening of the pylorus, or passage between the stomach & bowels. It is a comfort to know the climate had nothing to do with it—indeed he had been better the past winter than for many years he thought. He had the kindest and best medical attendance. Dr. Devan arrived over from H. Kong first day morning—five days before his death, & from that time, either he or Dr. Watson was constantly in the house. This privilege we could not have enjoyed even at home. My kind friend Mrs. Gillespie was almost constantly with me—Everything was done that skill & kindness could do to alleviate his suffering—that he was in his own home, & his own bed seemed to give him great happiness—His mind was very calm—The idea of leaving me and his dear children here alone gave him more anxiety than his own removal. . . . He died peacefully and quietly—his hand clasped in mine, to which he gave a pressure of recognition a few minutes before his departure. Kind & pious friends were by him. . . . He was interred the same afternoon at 5 o'clock. Dr. Devans conducted the services. Our own particular friends only were present at the house—Afterward Service was held at the

grave by Mr. Speer, at which a general invitation was given as is customary here—and it was very fully attended. I was not there—as it is never the practice here for females to go to the grave. It was a great trial to me. Dear little Natty threw the first earth on his Father's coffin. Mr. Moore was here, & he & Dr. Devan arranged all for me. *Evening*—I have just returned from my parting visit to the grave of my beloved husband—the dearest spot on earth to me. Tomorrow I expect to leave this place, endeared, I may almost say, sanctified to me by no small amount of suffering—no common afflictions. We have taken passage in the *Houqua*. We were to have gone in the *Joshua Bates*, but changed the plan. I have been obliged to use very great exertions to get ready, both bodily and mentally, but am now nearly in readiness. Dr. Devan goes in the same ship, which is an inexpressible comfort to me. Besides being a skilful physician, he is a kind Christian friend. . . . I am so harassed with cares & perplexities of every nature that I cannot write as I wish quietly & calmly. . . . I have household affairs to arrange before leaving—pecuniary matters, etc. etc.—all pressing on me, so unaccustomed & unfit as I am to manage them alone, but He will not lay on me more than He will enable me to bear. My health has continued good—the dear children are well. John has been, through my dear husband's illness, all that could have been asked or wished—faithful & devoted—an inexpressible comfort. Nath'l often expressed his gratitude that John was with us. He accompanied me to the graveyard this afternoon & was much effected. The precious remains repose in a quiet corner, shaded by some lovely trees from which I have taken leaves to preserve. There may they rest in peace. A plain granite monument is being prepared. I wish very much I could receive your Mail letters before leaving, in two days more they will probably be here. Dr. Devan is here in readiness to take passage with us. Wm. Robinson too is here, come down to see me before I leave. Wm. Gilman too, whom Mr. Moore kindly sent down to assist me in my preparations. Mrs. Gillespie stays with me still; & in her husband's absence in Canton for a few days, Mrs. Watson is here at night & a part of the days. Dr. Hopper too has been here a few days. My friends are very kind. . . . Mr. Wetmore is here, but does not stay with us, as he found our house pretty full. I was very anxious to see him before leaving, & wrote to request he would come down. The time since I left Canton on looking



back, seems like a dream,—so full of anxiety, sorrow & exertions—no rest. When we get to sea, in the quiet of the ship, I hope the past will come with revision and I can recall it calmly to memory. . . . The burial ground is the most lovely spot, that can be imagined. I could hardly leave it this evening. And oh how gladly, had it been the Divine Will, could I have laid down by the side of my dear departed husband. . . . I forgot to mention to Mother K. that the Am. Flag in the Square at Canton was lowered to half mast, on receipt of the news of the death of my dear husband. He was universally esteemed & respected in the community, & beloved by all who knew him well. Mr. Moore says he feels as if he had lost his best friend in China. . . . We hope to reach home by the middle of September, perhaps earlier, as the “H” is a fine sailor. I shall probably remain in N. York, till one of my brothers can come on for me. You will know of our arrival as soon as possible by telegraph—do not be anxious about me. . . . Dr. Devan feels very sad at being obliged to give up his labours here, but is obliged to leave on account of his health. He has become an excellent Chinese scholar. 17th—we do not leave today—probably tomorrow or the day after. Your sorrowing but affectionate daughter & Sister,

Rebecca

(From a torn sheet—evidently a diary kept on the way home) On Wednesday Evening, the 19th of May, we left Macao, went on board the *Houqua* in the *Raven*, Dr. Watson & Mr. Gilman accompanying us. They took leave of us at about 8 P.M. Next morning soon after day light, we set sail,—I, feeling myself as one stripped and forsaken—with no one on earth, on whom to depend. Oh, the loneliness & desolation of my spirit.

June 5th— . . . Very slow progress & the prospect rather discouraging—strong head wind & high seas with adverse currents, under close reefed topsails for two days past. But to me it matters little, where I am, or what becomes of me. Oh I am so lonely—so desolate.

7th, Monday—Yesterday, tho’ the Sabbath, we had no Service, on account of the weather. For several days past the stern windows have been necessarily closed, so that our little after cabin is close & dark, and we cannot enjoy sitting there as before. This has been a day of much mental conflict, in which darkness has covered my mind as with a garment. I can neither read nor pray—without preoccupation

of mind. Trifles have great power over me. How strange it is, that under the pressure of so overwhelming a calamity, I can be troubled about trifles of no real importance. Oh, may God in His great mercy be pleased soon to shed the light of His countenance upon me, & dispel this cloud of darkness & unbelief.

Quotations from a letter from Mrs. Forbes from China after Mrs. Kinsman left.

Canton, Oct. 25th, 1847

My dear Mrs. Kinsman :

As yet we have no tidings of your arrival home and suppose we must not expect any for two Mails yet at least. I hope as soon as you get home you will write me a long letter and tell me all about your passage home. It must have been a sad one enough to you. . . . Mrs. Everett has passed several days with me since we came up—she was here yesterday. She appears pretty well now in health, and her spirits are better—but she looks very pale and thin. I should think she is not much more than half the size she was when she arrived. I expect she gives up to her feelings when she is alone. She expects to leave China early in Jan'y—she wishes Mr. Forbes to find her a good ship and a good Captain—they at present think of the *Samuel Russell*—that is a fine new ship and a fine Capt.—a brother of the one you went home with. The Bushes spent the Summer at Macao with the Nyes—they were as they were last summer—No change that I could see—We shall have more ladies than ever here this winter, there are several new English ladies who will be here, and among the Americans Mrs. Rey (?)—she will come up about the 5th of next month, very much to her delight, as she was afraid she would not get up here. Hong Kong has been very gay already this year—two or three “balls”—and a great many dinner parties—the “Royal Irish” are going to leave for India in a few Months—which is the cause of all the gayety. Macao too was very gay all the Summer—Major General D'Aguilar was over there for some time, he had a great many dinner parties given to him—besides a great many evening parties—*generally* rather small ones to be sure, but they were gay nevertheless. I have not seen Mrs. Ripley since I came up here—I hear she is very nervous she is not allowed to see any one. She may be waiting for me to go to see her—if such is the case, she will have to *wait a little* at least. Mrs. Smith is about as usual. Her health was very

delicate this past summer—I should think consumption was her fate. She seems a nice little woman. Mrs. Edger has a daughter—I hear they are going home but do not know—she is to be in Canton soon. I am told the Fischers seem to be getting along pretty well—They remained here all summer and the children to my surprise are looking very well. We are to have a Regatta here on the 11th, 12th & 13th of next month—the ladies here presented a Cup to be pulled for—which is to cost \$50—Whether we are to have a Regatta ball afterwards I cannot tell. Mrs. Watson had a fine Son on the 1st August. The Bécourts met with a very sad loss in little Melanie—her clothes took fire, and she was so much burnt she died in a few hours—they feel it very much, she was one of the sweetest little things I have known—it happened about the 7th of this month. Mr. Bécourt was dining at our house—they have another little girl born on the 12th of Sept—they expect to leave in the winter for Manila. Wm. Robinson is very well—he takes tea with me very often & I like to have him do so—he is quite a favorite of mine—he has a great many very good feelings. I think now I have told you a little about almost everyone. Some that you will care to hear of and some that you will not. I hope your children improved in their health as soon as you got really out to sea and that I shall soon hear from you and have good accounts of you all. Mr. Forbes desires his kindest regards to you. I must now bid you “goodbye”—I hope you will write often to me—and believe me most affy your friend—

M. Forbes

I went some time ago to the burying ground and saw the Slab which has been put over your Husband's grave—it is very well done, very simple—I stood by it a long time and thought of all the disappointments we meet with in the course of even a short life.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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HERMAN MELVILLE; a Biography. By Leon Howard. 1951, 354 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press. Price, \$5.00.

This biography completely destroys the myth that all of Herman Melville's books were autobiographical in their content. The aim of Professor Howard's reasearches has been "to place the basic facts of Melville's life in their proper physical, historical, intellectual, and literary contexts and to draw from them the inferences necessary for a coherent and human narrative . . . to understand the author of *Moby Dick* and other books as a human being living the nineteenth-century America." He has traced Melville's life from his struggle to find a job during the eighteen thirties, sailing on a whaling ship to the South Seas, to settling down to write "Typee," etc., his personal successes and tragedies until his death when he was unknown to a good many people. Melville emerges as a human person capable of being understood. Hawthorne was one of Melville's friends who came closest to satisfying his desire for companionship. Professor Howard has placed all this against a background of the teeming American life of the nineteenth century. He has examined each of Melville's books in turn for its source, meaning and the reaction of the public. Recommended to all libraries.

SALT RIVERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS SHORE. By Henry F. Howe. 1951, 370 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Rinehart & Company. Price, \$4.00.

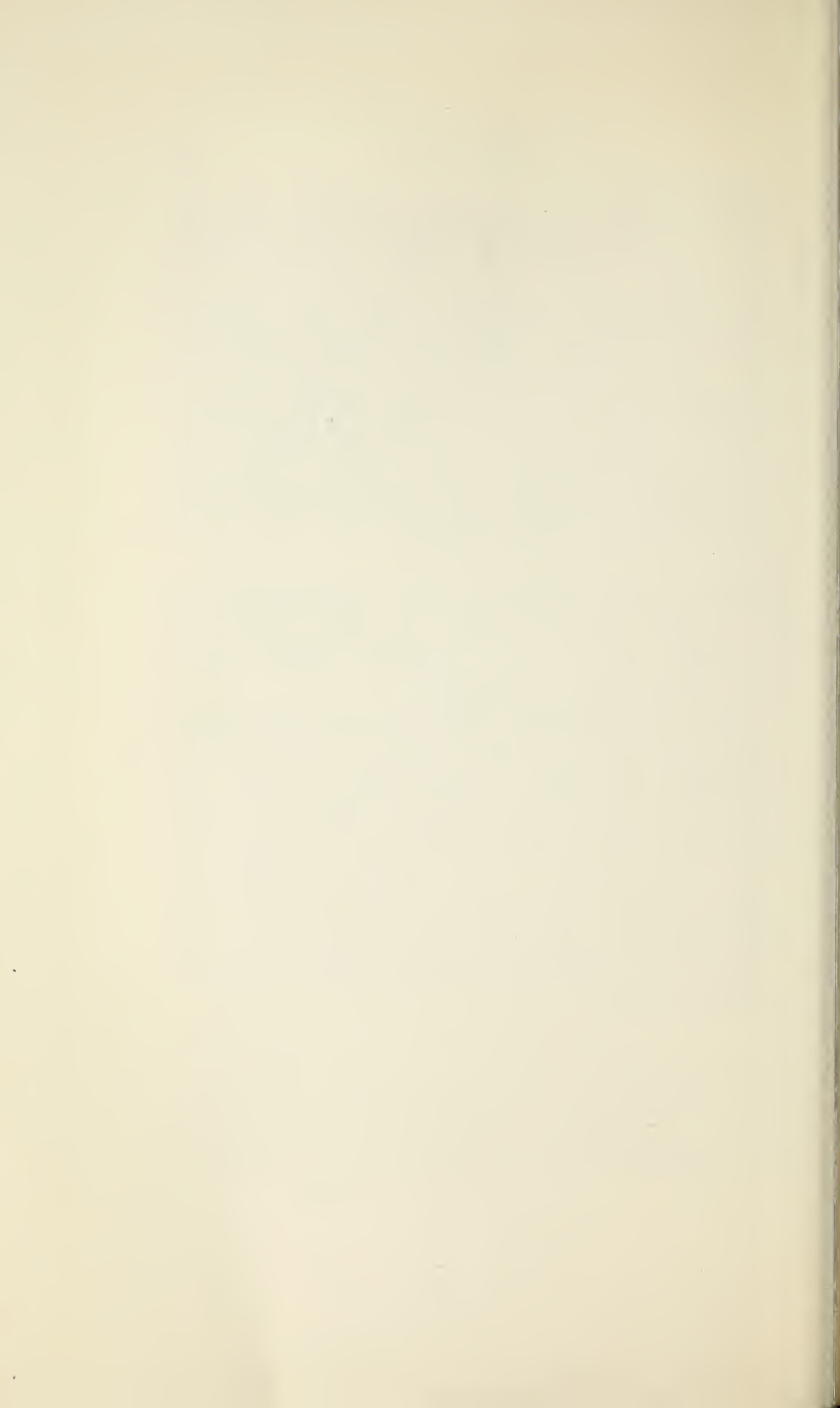
If the reader expects an elaborate story of the salt rivers of the Massachusetts shore, as the title of Dr. Howe's latest book implies, he is bound to be a bit disappointed. On the other hand if he comes to the realization (and he surely will) that here is an exceptionally brilliant and absorbing history of eastern Massachusetts, from the earliest days of the seventeenth century colonization, he will read with great pleasure and regret it when the final page has been reached. It is



seldom that one finds a more interestingly told story of the events that led up to the Revolution and one appreciates with growing admiration the vast amount of research that has gone into the writing of this volume. The drama of this world-shaking epoch is told with the clarity that removes it from the often dull compilation of dates and unconnected episodes. The story of President Adams should plant in the minds of many a reader the realization that scant appreciation has been shown to this great American. Dr. Howe brings his history as far north as Essex county, omitting the Merrimac river influence, and as far in the element of time as the twentieth century. He sees the old social cleavages breaking down and society stronger as a result and feels that if the stream of community life can be kept flowing as it has for three centuries there is no good reason to fear for the future. Recommended to all libraries.

NOTES ON THE COLLECTION OF DOLLS AND FIGURINES AT THE  
WENHAM MUSEUM CLAFLIN-RICHARDS HOUSE, WEN-  
HAM, MASSACHUSETTS. Compiled by Adeline P. Cole.  
1951, 173 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Wenham, Mass.:  
Wenham Historical Association.

Mrs. Cole has written a fascinating, well-illustrated book about the dolls and figurines in the collection of the Wenham Historical Association. This collection is based on the "International Doll Collection" owned originally by Mrs. Elizabeth Richards Horton whose family owned and occupied the Claflin-Richards House at one time; the "Mite Collection" owned by Mrs. Farrington, her granddaughter; and other private collections and gifts. There is a history of the type of doll and then a detailed account of the dolls chosen for illustration. The research for this book has led into the study of archaeology, costume, ethnology, history, religion, theatre and so forth. Recommended to all persons interested in dolls.









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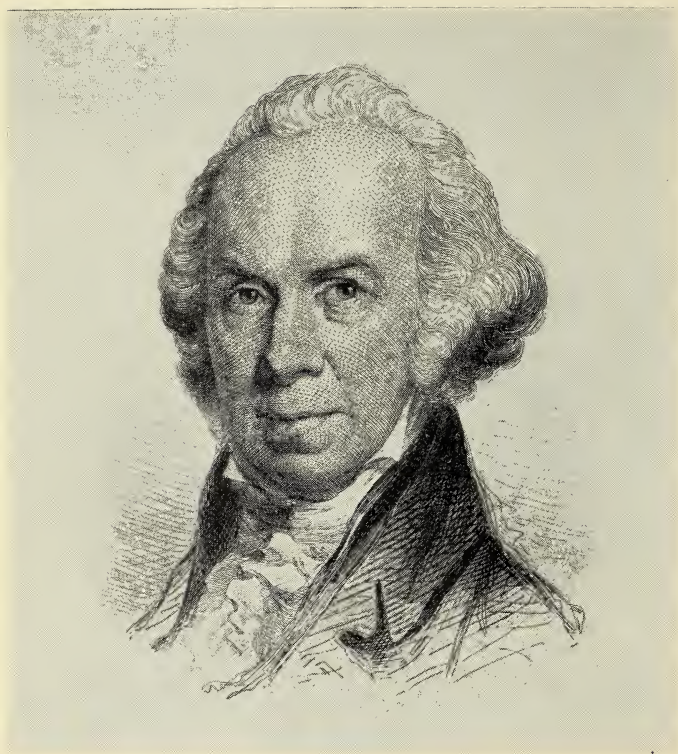
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ISAIAH THOMAS

1749 - 1831

Founder of the Essex Journal  
Father of the Press in Newburyport



# ESSEX INSTITUTE

## HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

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### HISTORY OF NEWBURYPORT NEWSPAPERS

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By RUSSELL LEIGH JACKSON

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As the shadows of the impending Revolution began to lengthen throughout the thirteen colonies and the inability of the provincial governments to reconcile their differences with the British Parliament became more apparent the need of a newspaper in Newburyport as a propaganda source and to keep alive and spread the gospel of liberty was very evident.

The fracas which took place on a cold March night in Boston in 1770, had stirred up a patriotic fervor probably far beyond its merits and the Sons of Liberty in Massachusetts were reluctant to lose an opportunity to make the most of it.

Newburyport had never had a newspaper. Some of its townspeople subscribed to the *Essex Gazette* which had been published in Salem since 1768, and a few received the Boston *Evening Post* at infrequent intervals. Many of the merchants and some of the professional men felt that Newburyport would respond to an appeal to bring the peculiar benefits of the press into their midst. The town was growing, it had wealth and an ever-increasing foreign trade; there was no reason why it should not enter into the more cosmopolitan atmosphere which already pervaded Salem and Boston.

And so in the spring of 1773 an appeal went out soliciting subscriptions for a newspaper which was to be called *The Essex Mercury and Weekly Intelligencer*. We do not know who subscribed. We suspect that Jonathan Jackson, the Tracys, John Lowell, Tristram Dalton, Joseph Marquand and Stephen Hooper were on the list—it would, indeed, be surprising if they were not.

Whether Isaiah Thomas,<sup>1</sup> the Boston publisher of the *Massachusetts Spy* was behind this project, we do not know. It is possible that Samuel Hall of the *Essex Gazette* was contemplating a second newspaper in the county, although it is doubtful. In any event, the peculiar attitude of the Newburyport people had not been taken into account. There seemed to be a decided lack of interest. They did not want a newspaper, and the promoters of the scheme were obliged to insert the following notice in the *Essex Gazette* on March 16, 1773:

To the respectable Inhabitants of Newbury-Port. The Publishers of the Proposals for printing the *Essex Mercury*, and the *Weekly Intelligencer*, think it their indispensable Duty in this public Manner to return their sincere thanks to those Gentlemen who so warmly exerted themselves in procuring Subscriptions, and also to those who subscribed for the intended Paper—Finding their numbers insufficient to defray the Expence, beg Leave to withdraw their Proposals. The Failure of sufficient Numbers they humbly hope will, by the candid Public, be deemed sufficient Apology for their so doing.

It is fortunate that this attitude was not accepted as final. Sometime in the summer of that year Isaiah Thomas of Boston, who had already at the age of twenty-three, become a figure in the colonial journalistic world, took matters into his own hands and shipped a printing press to Newburyport and opened an office on King (now Federal) Street nearly opposite the Reverend Mr. Parsons' meeting-house.

He promptly announced through the medium of the *Essex Gazette* that the first number of the *Essex Journal and Merrimack Packet* would appear in due time. And true to his promise the newspaper did come off the press Saturday, December 4, 1773 and in the opening number Mr. Thomas made the following announcement:

Many respectable Gentlemen, Friends to Literature, having expressed their earnest Desire that a Printing Office might be established in this populous Town, the Inhabitants in general being sensible of the great want thereof, and the Patronage and Assistance they have kindly promised to give,

have encouraged me to procure the necessary Apparatus for carrying on the Printing Business and Opening an Office here; and animates me to hope that every Public Spirited Gentleman, in this and the Places adjacent, will promote so useful an undertaking.

With Mr. Thomas came a young printer, Henry Walter Tinges of Boston, formerly an apprentice who probably did most of the work, for Mr. Thomas was a busy man and unable to devote much time to Newburyport. What effect a local newspaper would have on the townspeople Mr. Thomas did not know, but it apparently was favorable for it continued to go to press, although the profits were small. And the reason why it did not make money was because young Tinges was a poor business man. He tried to make a good impression and as a result ran the firm heavily into debt. The newspaper was published at first on Saturday but later came out on Wednesday; it had on the masthead at the left the facsimile of a Massachusetts Bay Indian and at the right a ship. It was of the usual size of Colonial newspapers and we may imagine the interest that the newspaper office held for visitors. Mr. Thomas realized this and in his very first number announced that the printing office would be open to the public on Monday, December 6 at 11 A.M. and 3 P.M.

Mr. Thomas gained immediate favor with the townspeople and it is too bad that he could not have enjoyed a long and happy association with them. However, the financial condition of the partnership and the urgency of business elsewhere made it advisable to sell his interest. Who would buy half a newspaper and its printing office? Ezra Lunt,<sup>2</sup> proprietor of a successful local stagecoach running between Newburyport and Boston, proved to be the man. He probably knew little or nothing about the newspaper business, but he was in an excellent way to further the popularity of the paper. He met nearly all the passengers between Newburyport and Boston, he learned all the news and besides was related to all the Lunt sea captains, who were potential sources of information. And moreover, he lived next to the office. So, in August, 1774, Mr. Thomas retired from the firm and Mr.

Lunt succeeded him and the firm name became Lunt & Tinges. Mr. Tinges remained as a partner and manager of the business, which did a great deal of book and job printing. It is suspected that Mr. Lunt kept a careful eye on the finances while young Tinges carried on the actual press work.

In April, 1775, the potential war became an actuality and Ezra Lunt was the first to respond to the appeal of his pastor one Sabbath morning soon after the battle on Lexington Green, for volunteers to form a company. As a reward for his courage, he was chosen captain and he had a distinguished service at Bunker Hill, on Long Island and in New Jersey.

Of course this turn of events necessitated a change in Mr. Lunt's plans. He sold his carriages, horses and stable to one of his employes and his interest in the *Essex Journal* to a young Amesbury schoolmaster, one John Mycall,<sup>3</sup> a colorful figure. The change in the name of the firm came in August, 1775 when Lunt disappeared to be replaced by Mycall. Mr. Mycall was the dominant member of *Mycall & Tinges*, there is no doubt about that. He was an Englishman about twenty-five years of age and a man of far-sighted and progressive ideas. It is not clear whether he considered the publication of the newspaper or the many books and pamphlets which came from his press as the more important. There is one thing, however, and that is that he did not consider Henry Walter Tinges important to his business and about the first of the new year, 1776, Tinges disappeared from the partnership and John Mycall carried on alone.

His first act was to change the name of the paper to *The Essex Journal* or *New Hampshire Packet*. In April, 1776, it was announced that the subscription price of the paper would be eight shillings per annum. This remained a fairly stable price for the paper for eight years when it was increased to eight shillings, twelve pence. About a week after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, Mr. Mycall moved his publishing office to a location on Merrimack Street a little below Ferry wharf. There was an advantage in being near the water front and King



Street was too far removed from the business district of the town. Besides by being near the wharves one could tell the news from the vessels as they came in. Another reason why Mr. Mycall moved from King Street, probably, was because of a fire which destroyed a considerable part of his property.

In the issue of April 12, 1776, he expressed publicly his appreciation of the assistance given him on the night of the fire, but he notes in an N.B. that "... some things are yet missing THAT WERE NOT CONSUMED" and he would "take it kindly if those who may have them in possession or know where they are would give him notice thereof." He also took the opportunity to "acquaint those who are in arrears for this Paper that the Balance due at this time would be very acceptable to him."

In the meantime there was threat of competition from another quarter. Ezekiel Russell in Salem came out with the first number of the Salem *Gazette* and Newburyport and Marblehead *Advertiser*. Bulkley Emerson, the Newburyport postmaster, and Thomas Thompson, tobacconist at the head of Long Wharf and David and Joseph Cutler at the Sign of the Dish were receiving subscriptions for it, but perhaps its name killed it for it made no impression in Newburyport. People were too much attached to Mr. Mycall and his paper.

During his business years in Newburyport, John Mycall printed many important books and pamphlets. One, a sermon delivered by the Reverend Jonathan Parsons on March 5, 1774, was probably the first pamphlet printed in Newburyport. He also brought out a new edition of the "New England Primer," the first edition of "Pike's Arithmetic" and an edition of Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield."

As the war progressed it became increasingly difficult for Mr. Mycall to get paper and this is noticeable in several of the editions in the fall of 1775, when the journal appeared about half size.

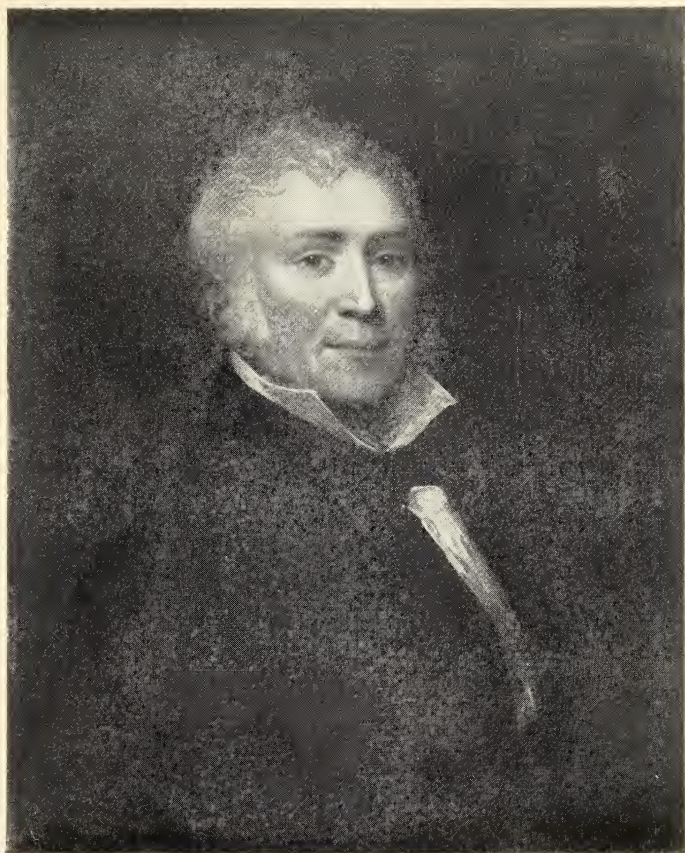
He lived in what was later known as the old Assembly House on Temple Street and sometime between 1784 and 1794, he moved his newspaper and printing plant there.

Apparently for a few months in 1784, he took a vacation from his journalistic work and it is probable that he was teaching in the North Writing School for writing teachers were in great demand. He could take things a bit easier for his nephew William Hoyt had come to work for him and in his capable hands Mr. Mycall left his duties while he took over the work of a schoolmaster for a brief period. Hoyt's father was a brother of Mrs. Mycall and it would have been an excellent arrangement for Mycall to have kept him but the young man had a lady love in Salisbury, New Hampshire, and there he apparently decided to spend his life. So he left his uncle and went thither, where he taught school, ran a store and prospered, acquiring the reputation of being very fond of money.

In 1794, Mr. Mycall decided to give up his business in Newburyport and remove to Harvard, Massachusetts, where he had exchanged a printing press and the accompanying paraphernalia for a house. This seemed like an unusual thing to do and the reason may have been that some competition had come into Newburyport the year before.

Edmund March Blunt<sup>4</sup> of Portsmouth in company with Howard Smith Robinson, publisher of the *Eastern Star* of Hallowell, Maine, had come into town and begun the publication of a newspaper which they called the *Impartial Herald*. The partnership lasted only a year for in April, 1794, Mr. Robinson brought out the first number of the *Morning Star*. He apparently had no capital for the next month he took Benjamin Tucker into business with him under the firm name of Robinson & Tucker. In October, Mr. Robinson dropped out and Mr. Tucker was the sole owner and publisher.

In the meantime, Mr. Blunt had not been idle for he had taken into partnership his cousin Angier March<sup>5</sup> of Portsmouth. It was a foregone conclusion that Blunt & March could not tolerate another newspaper in town so they had to buy Mr. Tucker's *Morning Star* in December, 1794. But they were not to be without competition long for in the following April, 1795, William Barrett brought out the first number of the *Political Gazette*. This was a



EDMUND MARCH BLUNT

1770 - 1862

Editor and owner of the Impartial Herald





weekly and lasted until October 27, 1797, when it was united with the *Impartial Herald*. Once again Blunt & March were without competition. But soon after the consolidation of the *Impartial Herald* and the *Morning Star*, Mr. Blunt decided to devote all of his time to his book store and his book publishing business and accordingly sold his interests in September, 1796 to Mr. March who continued to publish the *Impartial Herald* alone for a year. It was in September, 1796 that Mr. March announced that Mr. Blunt had retired from the firm in the following:

The public are respectfully informed that in future the *Impartial Herald* will be conducted by Angier March, the former junior editor, with whom all persons indebted for newspapers and advertisements are requested to settle.

In the same issue he addresses the public:

Diffident of his abilities for the prosecution of so arduous a task, the editor of the *Impartial Herald* dares not engage it to merit the public approbation. He solicits for it and himself a candid indulgence.

He hopes from the patrons of Science and friends of Agriculture, Manufacturers, Commerce and Navigation, liberal assistance.

The *Herald* will be "FREE, OPEN and IMPARTIAL but not licentious.

All pieces tending to promote useful knowledge, or encourage public and private virtue will be gratefully received.

The Editor will be particularly thankful to his intelligent sea-faring brethren for Foreign news and Marine information.

The prices current in the West India Islands and Foreign ports will be very acceptable.

The readers of the *Herald* are assured that to procure any information which may contribute to their interest or entertainment, every possible exertion will be made.

The Editor presumes his advertising friends will find it for their interest to be liberal in their favors, which shall receive punctual attention. The price of the *Impartial Herald* has heretofore been only 12s, but the rise of stock and work has been so great that it is presumed none of its friends will object to its being rais'd to the lowest

price of all other papers of the same size which is Two dollars and fifty cents.

After the 1st of October, therefore, it will be published on the following

#### CONDITIONS

1st It shall be printed on a good paper of a demy size; and the columns will be enlarged.

2d To be delivered in Town at Two Dollars and Fifty Cents per annum, to be paid quarterly. Great care will be taken to forward papers to subscribers out of town by early and safe conveyances.

When the great expence attending the publication of a newspaper is considered the Editor conceives it will be unnecessary to remind any that punctuality is absolutely necessary to its support. To those who have made regular payments, the Editor gratefully acknowledges his obligations; and hopes that those *who* have not will come "and do likewise." Papers will, as usual, be delivered by Edmund M. Blunt at his Printing Office and Book Store, Sign of the Bible, and at the Herald Office where advertisements, &c will be received. Masters of vessels and others bound on foreign voyages are requested to call at either of said places and supply themselves with files of papers GRATIS.

Before we dispose of Mr. Mycall entirely it would be well to note that he was one of the greatest newspapermen ever to come to Newburyport. He was fair and honest and withal had a great sense of humor. A quaint story is told of a brief experience he had with Sheriff Philip Bagley of Newburyport at one time. It seems that Mr. Mycall had brought to Sheriff Bagley's attention many times a bill still owing and which Bagley had always promised to pay. Finally, in desperation, Mr. Mycall went to the sheriff again.

"Mr. Mycall, you shall have your money tomorrow, if I am alive," promised Bagley. "You may be certain that I am a corpse if you are not paid in full."

Mr. Mycall waited for the morrow to pass and when it did without word from Mr. Bagley, he concocted a little plan. When the sheriff received his paper the next day he saw staring him in the face his own obituary, which was full of praise but which ended with the state-

ment, "Alas, Sheriff Bagley had but one grave fault—he neglected to pay the printer."

Wild with rage Bagley ran from his house to the office of the *Herald* to remonstrate with Mr. Mycall. "What do you mean by saying I am dead" demanded Bagley. "Why, aren't you?" replied Mycall. "I have your own word for it that if I did not receive my money, I would know that you were dead, and as I did not get it, I assumed that you were no longer with us."

This was too much for Bagley so he pulled out his wallet and paid Mycall in full. "Don't worry, sheriff" said Mycall, "the obituary notice appeared only in your paper, no other subscriber saw it."

Mycall was very friendly with the Reverend William Bentley of Salem—the same Dr. Bentley who kept the famous diary—and often entertained him at his house. Visiting in Newburyport in September, 1790, Dr. Bentley records, "At Mycall's printing office I saw the best furnished office I had ever seen, tho the preference is decidedly given in favor of Thomas of Worcester who has lately made very rich additions to his Types." "Thomas of Worcester" was, of course, Isaiah Thomas, who established the first newspaper in Newburyport.

Mycall evidently was a man of courage and during the smallpox epidemic in Newburyport in 1796, Dr. Bentley records that Water Street in Newburyport was shut off by a chain and that the editor and Mr. Nathaniel Carter were the only persons who "had the courage to tarry in it."

In 1797, Mr. March added Mr. Barrett, formerly of the *Political Gazette* to the firm and the name was changed to Barrett & March. In October of that year the name of the paper was changed to Newburyport *Herald* and *Country Gazette*. Mr. Barrett did not stay long, however, and in December, 1797, he sold his interest to Mr. March, who remained the sole owner and publisher until August 1801, when Ephraim Williams Allen<sup>6</sup> of Attleboro, and his brother-in-law, Jeremiah Stickney<sup>7</sup> of Newburyport, purchased the property and continued it for a year under the firm name of Allen & Stickney.

A short time before Mr. Blunt left the partnership with Mr. March the office of the *Impartial Herald* was removed to State Street, as it had come to be known, and early in 1798, the paper was brought out twice a week.

However, let us get on to the year 1801. Mr. March has moved his printing office to the north corner of Market Square and the price of the *Herald* has gone up to \$3 per year. In June, 1801 the office was again moved to the south side of Market Square, opposite Peabody & Waterman's store where it remained only two months when it was again moved to a location on Middle Street.

On August 4, 1801, Mr. March announced that:

"it being incompatible with the health and interest of the subscriber to continue the publication of a newspaper, he has transferred the property and editorial duty of the Newburyport *Herald* to Messrs. Allen & Stickney, who will doubtless render it worthy the support of a candid public. The friends of the late editor are requested to continue their patronage. On leaving a situation at once honorable and highly responsible though far from being lucrative, the subscriber cannot forbear expressions of gratitude for many unmerited tokens of friendly candor and benevolence. In many instances differences of situation prevents any return but gratitude. This sentiment will expire only with life. Those persons who are in arrears for the Paper or Advertisements are desired to make immediate payment; and all having accounts open are desired to exhibit them for settlement.

As the year 1801 drew to a close, we find Allen & Stickney the sole owners of the Newburyport *Herald* and *Country Gazette*, but the partnership did not last long. Mr. Stickney's health was precarious and in the issue of June 15, 1802, the announcement of his retirement was made.

Owing to the ill state of health under which Mr. Stickney has for some months past labored and still not recovering it he has been induced to suspend the fatigues of business and for that purpose has concluded to dispose of his share of the Newburyport *Herald* to Mr. John Barnard and it will in future be conducted under the firm of Allen & Barnard,...

Mr. Barnard was a printer who had an office on the north side of Market Square. He had not had much news-



paper experience and why Mr. Allen wanted him is not clear. It may have been because of his good connections. He was related to the various clergymen bearing this patronymic and may have had some money.

But he did not last long for in July, 1803, there is the announcement that he had withdrawn from the firm. In the statement to the public he says that:

. . . not finding the emoluments, accruing from the joint pursuit of the business . . . commensurate to his expectation, has thought proper to relinquish the whole into the hands of Mr. Allen, not doubting he will conduct it to the satisfaction of a liberal public . . .

Mr. Allen pays tribute to his late partner's fidelity and services, but makes it clear that there is not enough in the business to pay for two and that is the real reason for Mr. Barnard's withdrawal. He goes on to admonish the delinquents who owe the *Herald*, some of whom have not paid a cent for two years. That seemed to be a common cause of complaint among the newspaper owners of a century and a half ago. If it had not been for the job printing business which usually went along with the publishing of the newspaper, many of them could not have lasted as long as they did. Mr. Allen was evidently a good business man.

In March, 1803, the "Country Gazette" part of the newspaper title was dropped and it became the Newburyport *Herald*. Under the title *The Herald* was the little couplet:

"He comes—the *Herald* of a noisy world  
News from all nations lumbering at his back"

At that time politics was the principal topic of conversation. Party feeling was very strong and tense and the newspapers played it up. The *Herald* was Federalist and did not have much in common with the Democratic Republicans or the Jeffersonians as the followers of the administration were called. Three years before, the Federalists had made a last ditch fight in an effort to reelect Mr. Adams and had failed. However, they were still strong in the local political fights. Newburyport was still

strongly Federalist although some of the better known citizens were veering over to the "radical" side. The editorials were bristling. The following is a good sample:

The Jacobins (as the Jeffersonians were called) have for some time been boasting an access of strength and they now think themselves powerful enough to assume the government of this town. Look about and see who they are and then coolly answer yourselves the question. Will you entrust your municipal interests in their hands? . . .

The opposition papers (the Jacobin, Democratic-Republicans, etc.) made a great deal of the arrest of Mr. Carlton, the editor of the *Salem Register*, for libel against Timothy Pickering. One of them, editorially, said:

Republican printers can be prosecuted for the most trifling errors, and the federal printers escape with impunity, when every column of their papers exhibit a libel upon the General Government.—But the day of retribution will come—sooner or later justice will take place . . .

Another election would be coming along in the fall of 1804, and it was considered extremely worthwhile to have one or two Jacobin newspapers in Newburyport—papers that would interpret the Jeffersonian viewpoint.

Such a paper was the *Merrimack Gazette*, of which Caleb Cross was the editor. The office was on Middle Street and in its initial number Mr. Cross states that:

The political complexion of this paper will be (as stated in the prospectus) decidedly Republican yet it is not intended to debar free and liberal discussion from its columns.

This is evidently the paper to which Reverend Dr. Bentley referred in his diary, "It is talked of to open an administration Newspaper at Newburyport. Much is expected from the success of it but the number of subscribers at first must be small. An attempt to play upon this subject had produced so much agitation as to make some persons hot for it. The *Register* of Salem has about twenty subscribers in Newbury Port."

The *Merrimack Gazette* lasted only a year (1803) and was purely a political organ during its existence. It was

vitriolic and wasn't much of a loss although its editor, Caleb Cross, was a gentleman of intelligence and would have been welcomed on the other side of the political fence.

There was another newspaper that sprung up in 1803, the *New England Repertory*, owned by Mr. John Park and edited by John Barnard, Mr. Allen's old partner on the *Herald*. The first number came out July 6, 1803, and it moved to Boston about the middle of January, 1804. There was some talk about its being an administration paper but Mr. Park in the first number emphasizes the fact that he is a Federalist and there is little in the news columns to substantiate the suggestion that it is Jacobin in any way.

Mr. Barnard apparently severed his connection with the *Repertory* in September, 1803 and after January, 1804, Mr. Park became associated with his brother Andrew W. Park in Boston. This paper may be considered the "ancestor" of the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, edited for a time by Nathan Hale.

On March 26, 1804, the *Political Calendar*, a weekly and later semi-weekly made its appearance. It was published by Caleb Cross formerly of the *Merrimack Gazette* and therefore was strongly Jeffersonian in politics. The editor was Joshua Lane, who only remained two months for he disappears in May. After October, 1804 it became the *Political Calendar and Essex Advertiser*. This was only a political organ designed to aid in the election of 1804 and it "petered out" the following June.

The *Independent Whig* was another weekly and semi-weekly that flourished for about a year. It made its initial appearance March 22, 1810, published by Nathaniel Hill Wright and it lasted until May, 1811, just before the disastrous Newburyport fire of that year.

It ceased publication on February 5, 1811 for a few weeks when political enemies of Mr. Wright invaded the sanctity of the editorial office and destroyed types, documents and otherwise caused damage amounting to several hundred dollars. The *Herald* carried the announcement of the vandalism and the offer of a reward of \$100 for the apprehension of the culprits. On March 8, 1811, the

paper again resumed publication as a weekly and continued until May 2, 1811. It was a rather rabid Republican sheet although it claimed to be independent. It made no attempt to veil its hatred of Pickering and the members of the "Essex Junto," and we are forced to the conclusion that Editor Wright brought his misfortunes upon himself. A little more than a week before the raid upon the editorial office, the following advertisement appeared:

WILL BE PUBLISHED

This morning at 9 o'clock (price 25 cents)

THE PICKERONIAD;

OR, EXPLOITS OF FACTION:

Celebrated in Mock-heroic-al, Serio-comic-al,

Hudibrastic-al and Quizzic-al numbers

Illustrated with Explanatory Notes

BY RALPHO RISIBLE, Esq.

Poet-Laureat to their Most Dis-honourable Honours,

The Grand Knights of the Most Sublime

Order of the Essex Junto, &c

Subscribers are requested to call for their Books.

This was, of course, a base satire upon Col. Timothy Pickering and his adherents, and did not help Mr. Wright's popularity.

In the June 25, 1811 issue of the *Essex Register* of Salem, Mr. Wright has a signed statement explaining why the *Independent Whig* had ceased to publish. He mentions the raid of February 5th and says that it is unnecessary to recapitulate the reasons. "Let it suffice to say" he says, "that honest men of all parties reprobated their cowardly transaction in the most unequivocal terms."

"After the reestablishment of the Whig," he goes on to say "no opportunities were lost by the political enemies of the Editor to injure him in his profession and character. Their malice, however, fell short of its mark; but what the violence of party could not effect, misfortune has accomplished. An intense application to business had impaired my health to such a degree that I had become subject to frequent epileptic attacks. In my last illness, having no person to superintend my affairs, and being deprived of the exercise of my reason, the paper was un-



avoidably suspended. When I had in a measure recovered, I came to the determination of disposing of the establishment, reserving to myself the right of conducting the editorial department. This arrangement was drawing to a close, when the late distressing fire frustrated all my hopes and blighted the fair prospects which rose in perspective before my view. In justice to myself, it may not be amiss here to observe that taking advantage of my indisposition, the *Exeter Constitutional* in the true spirit of federal exultation announced 'the death of the *Whig*,' alledging as the cause a circumstance which I now declare to be a base and injurious falsehood. But that paper like an attending ghost has since followed the *Whig* to 'the tomb of the Capulets.'

The malice of my enemies, though it may alienate from me some of those who have professed to be my friends, will never disturb my repose. I have received no favours from them and I ask none. (sic) I request no charity, but the charity of their silence. I have endeavoured by honest industry to support my family. If I have failed in the attempt let it not be uncharitably attributed to want of exertion but to the real cause—misfortune."

Following the elimination of Mr. Wright, the *Herald* enjoyed uninterrupted non-competition for several years. Mr. Stickney had retired because of ill health and Mr. Barnard who followed him likewise went his own way, not, however, for reasons of health but because the profits were not great enough to support two. This left the paper in the hands of Ephraim Williams Allen, brother-in-law of Mr. Stickney. He had come from Attleboro and had married Dorothy Stickney. She was well connected and had three other sisters, Mary, wife of Captain Jeremiah Young; Judith, wife of Capt. Isaac Stone and Eunice, wife of Moses Brown; and also besides Jeremiah Stickney another brother David Stickney, who had married Captain Peter LeBreton's daughter. Mr. Allen was an outstanding newspaperman and editor and two of his sons made their marks in the journalistic world, the eldest William Stickney Allen, one-time editor of the Newburyport *Herald* and later of the St. Louis *Republican* and St.

Louis *Gazette* and Jeremiah Stickney Allen, editor of the Newburyport Daily *Herald* and also of the St. Louis *Gazette* which he established and the Boston *Traveler*.

The disastrous Newburyport fire of 1811, caused considerable damage to the *Herald* plant and Mr. Allen was forced to take quarters first in the second floor chambers of Moses Brown's store on Merrimack Street just above the bottom of Green Street. He bought a new press and by December 17th he was in chambers over No. 15 Cornhill with the entrance at the north end of the building. About two weeks later he had moved to 16 State Street at the Sign of Franklin's Head.

With the exception of a few months in 1805, when Mr. Allen's brother, William Brown Allen edited the *Herald*, while its regular editor was recovering from illness, the latter was the sole editor and owner and it was largely during this time that the *Herald* built up its enviable reputation, as a fair-minded and reliable newspaper.

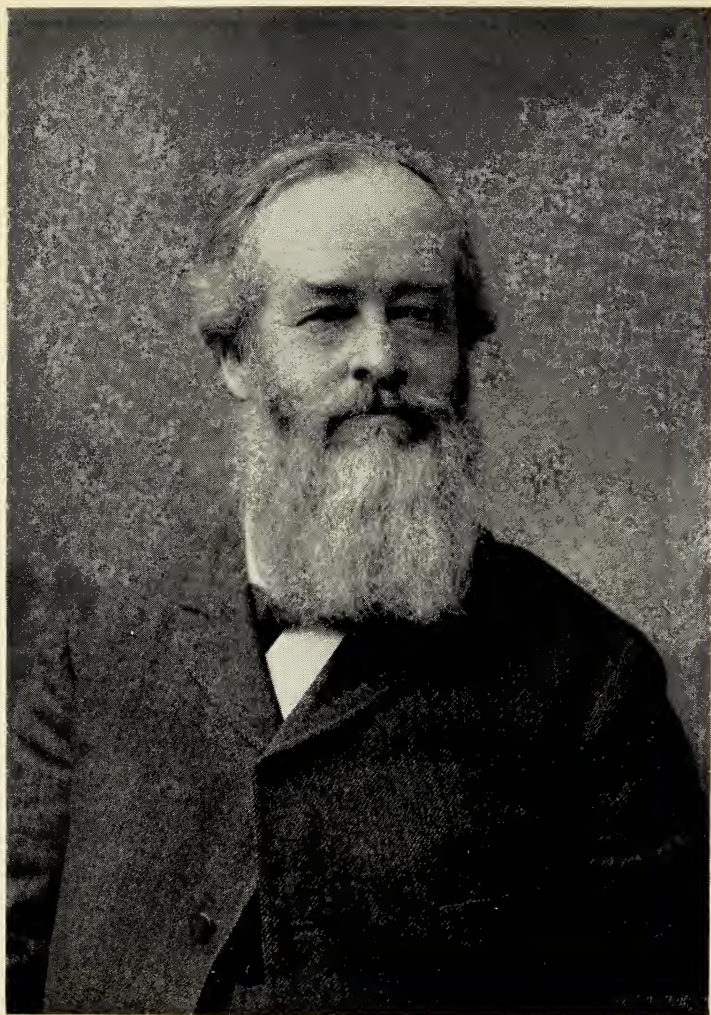
Not since the days when Edmund March Blunt used his great talents in building up the paper had there been such a popular and brilliant newspaperman in a position of such trust and honor in Newburyport.

There wasn't much opposition to the *Herald* until 1824, when the presidential election brought politics again to the fore. Heman Ladd of Exeter, came down to Newburyport and opened an office and printing establishment at 11 State Street in May, 1824 and later moved to 11 Cornhill. He called his paper the *Northern Chronicler* and it didn't do much harm. The next year Isaac Knapp, 3rd.,<sup>8</sup> took over Mr. Ladd's old location at 11 Cornhill and brought out the first number of the *Essex Courant*. His office was opposite the Phoenix Building and the subscription cost was \$2 per year.

He said in his announcement that:

This paper circulates for the most part among those who take no other and I consider it my duty to let nothing prevent us from giving a full account as practicable of the news of the week. Mere speculation therefore and writings for the possible purpose of amusement must give place to matter of a more substantial character.





HON. WILLIAM H. HUSE  
1823 - 1888

Editor and owner of the Newburyport Herald



The first number of Knapp's *Essex Courant* came out in June, 1825, and supported the Republican candidates for office. Before he finished his journalistic career he became a partner of a young man with radical ideas, who had begun his career on the old *Herald* years before—William Lloyd Garrison. In March, 1826, Knapp sold all his right and title to Garrison, who promptly announced the publication of the *Free Press*, at 24 State Street and later at 2 South Row, Market Square.

Garrison, of course, knew not what a stir he was to cause within the next few years when he took his great talents to Boston and began the publication of *The Liberator*.

The *Free Press* bore the motto, "Our Country—Our whole Country—and nothing but Our Country" and in the issue of June 8, 1826, there appears a poem by John Greenleaf Whittier, believed to be Whittier's first published poem. Mr. Garrison sold his paper about the middle of December, 1826, to John H. Harris, who discontinued it.

The *Advertiser* appeared sometime in 1831, and had a short life for it was sold the following year to D. W. O'Brien and Hiram Tozer. At that time the office was at 61½ State Street, nearly opposite Middle Street. It became more or less of a political sheet and supported Henry Clay in the campaign of 1832.

The following year the *People's Advocate and Commercial Gazette* made an appearance with B. E. Hale as editor. About this time, also, came the *Statesman*, Joseph Gleason, Jr., editor. This was published in Blunt's Building on State Street, Mondays and Thursdays. In 1842, the *Merimac Journal*, a Democratic paper, published at 13 Cornhill by A. C. Radcliffe, came out Wednesday and Saturday mornings. None of them was successful and apparently the *Herald* had nothing to fear from any real competition for many years to come.

About the year 1844-5, the name of Huse began to become evident in Newburyport journalism. William H. Huse,<sup>9</sup> a young man of twenty-two years, in company with Joseph H. W. Bragdon and Alfred M. Berry organized

a newspaper which they called the Newburyport *Advertiser* and which made its first appearance in 1845. It was a semi-weekly and was printed at 13 Cornhill on October 7th of that year. The firm was dissolved January 1, 1847, but Messrs. Huse and Bragdon continued the publication of the paper until July 10, 1849, when it appeared as a daily evening paper.

Two weeks later, another paper appeared, this time it was the Daily Evening *Union*, published for the first time July 23, 1849 under the firm name of Nason, Bragdon & Co. The members of the firm were William H. Huse, Charles Nason, Joseph H. Bragdon and James C. Peabody. In November the firm name was changed to Huse & Bragdon and some time later to Huse & Nason. Before June 1, 1852, all of Mr. Huse's partners had withdrawn leaving him the sole possessor and on January 1, 1854, he merged it with the Newburyport *Herald*.

Late in January, of that same year, Mrs. E. Vale Smith, a well-known Newburyport literary light and author of a history of the town, became editor of a newspaper called the *Saturday Evening Union and Weekly Family Visitor*. Mr. Huse was the financial "angel" of the paper and the following year the name was changed to *Saturday Evening Union and Essex North Record*. It lasted another year when it was merged with the *Herald*.

In the summer of 1854, Major Ben: Perley Poore of Indian Hill, West Newbury, well known journalist of national scope, published a little paper called the *American Sentinel* and *Essex North Record*.

In 1879, the first number of the *Semi-Weekly Germ* appeared with Michael C. Teel as the publisher at 4 Merri-mack street. The name was changed three years later to the Newburyport *Daily Germ* with Michael C. Teel and Edwin L. Teel as the publishers under the title of M. C. Teel & Son. On January 26, 1887, it was sold to Fred E. Smith, who brought out six days later the first number of the Newburyport *Daily News*. James H. Higgins became financially interested in the paper in the following May and the News Publishing Company was formed.





NATHAN NOYES WITHINGTON  
1828 - 1914

Editor of the Newburyport Herald



In March 1890, another paper called the *Saturday Night* was published by George J. L. Colby.<sup>10</sup> Two years later this became the *Newburyport Item*, with Albert F. Hunt as manager.

Between the time of the Civil War and the dawn of twentieth century, several small newspapers flourished for a short period. The *Newburyport Star* was a weekly and was published from January 14 to April 29, 1865, by R. D. and Thomas S. Pratt at the office on the corner of State and Middle Streets.

Mr. Colby, who later brought out the *Saturday Night* put the *Merrimac Valley Visitor* on the street in 1872. Colby, Coombs & Co. published this paper until January, 1887. Albert F. Hunt, later of the *Item* published the *Advocate*, a weekly, for a few months in 1875, and from October, 1878 to March 1879, Lothrop Withington published and edited the *Ocean Wave*. Mr. Withington was a son of Nathan Noyes Withington,<sup>11</sup> who held various editorial positions on the old *Newburyport Herald*, and became internationally known as a genealogist, spending many years in London. He perished on the *Lusitania* during the first World War, the victim of a German submarine.

His father, the elder Mr. Withington was an interesting figure in Newburyport. He was a son of the old minister, the Reverend Leonard Withington, and in his later years wrote editorials for the *Herald* of which at that time his grandson, Leonard Withington was managing editor. It was a part of the writer's particular duties to translate Mr. Withington's editorial for that was what it really meant. The old gentleman would write them on small white cards or pieces of paper in a very fine script so fine and small that it required the assistance of a magnifying glass to read it. At first it would look as though the entire editorial would be brief, but it was amazing how much Mr. Withington would contrive to get on one small card.

The Withingtons were a literary-minded family and several of them were connected with newspapers. Arthur Withington, brother of Lothrop, was associated with Ed-

ward A. Huse, George O. Atkinson, Walter S. Pearson and J. Hermann Carver in publishing the *Daily Standard* from January, 1891 to June, 1892. Edward A. Huse was a son of William H. Huse, publisher of the *Herald*, and from the first appearance of William H. Huse in the Newburyport journalistic world the family maintained its position for many years. Like the Allens and Stickneys the Huses had no journalistic tradition, yet they seemed to take to that particular field like the proverbial duck to water. Mr. Huse was a very able man of keen insight, keenly alive to the needs of his native community and it is not surprising that he was elected mayor of the city in 1888. It was almost tragic that he lived only two months afterwards and died universally lamented. His son Arthur L. Huse was for a long time connected with the old *Herald* and in the last days of that famous paper he conducted the "Pot-Pourri" column, as it was called, a collection of interesting news items of varying sorts, that made interesting reading.

Purely political newspapers were not common in Newburyport, although there were a few, in the early years of the nineteenth century. One of the last ones was the *Sun*, a Democratic newspaper published daily during the presidential campaign of 1876, when General Rutherford B. Hayes was battling Senator Samuel J. Tilden for the presidency. The *Sun* was strongly pro-Tilden and was published by Eliphalet Griffin, and others.

Another political newspaper of an earlier day was the *Courant* published by Greenleaf Clarke, who entered the employ of the *Herald* in 1827, at the age of fourteen. While he published the *Courant* he shared the favor of Caleb Cushing who often wrote for the paper and who at one time edited the *Herald* for a brief period. George Lunt also contributed poetry to the *Courant*. Later the paper passed out of existence and Mr. Clarke went to the *Boston Transcript* and was on that staff for thirty years. In 1896, he addressed the Franklin Typographical Society on "Printers of Old Days."

Now that we have reviewed the short careers of most of the small newspapers, let us go back to the *Herald*,

which for many years was the family paper in the old town.

Previous to October 1, 1832, Ephraim W. Allen was still editor and publisher of the *Herald*. His health, however, was far from good and on the above date his son William Stickney Allen took over as publisher. The usual notice appeared signed by E. W. Allen in the issue of October 1. On December 15, 1832, Joseph Brown Morss joined the company and for six months continued the *Daily Herald*. On February 1, 1833, he announced that owing to financial reasons he would be obliged to discontinue the daily paper and print only twice a week. He promised, however, to return to the daily as soon as finances permitted. On June 2, 1834, Mr. Allen announced the transfer of the property to Joseph B. Morss and William H. Brewster, and the following day this notice appeared:

The Newburyport *Herald* establishment, which has been the property of the subscriber since Oct. 1st 1832, was on the 2nd instant transferred to Messrs. Joseph B. Morss and Wm. H. Brewster. The change now announced, though decided by views of personal convenience, will no doubt be advantageous to the paper, which is placed in such hands as will add to its respectability and usefulness.

Mr. Morss has long been employed in this office, and has rendered the most useful, faithful and satisfactory services. To many persons, in this community, who have the pleasure of his acquaintance, any further recommendation of his character for intelligence and uprightness would be superfluous. It is enough to add that the talents, integrity and amiable disposition of Mr. M. are sufficient guarantees to the public that their encouragement of his exertions will not be misplaced.

Of Mr. Brewster, I have known nothing personally until within a few weeks; but from the results of my inquiries, am satisfied that he too is entitled to the patronage of this community. He is a practical printer, and, having had the best opportunities, is thoroughly acquainted with his business in all its various branches. Mr. Brewster has superintended one of the largest printing establishments in Boston for some time past; and will, no doubt, with suitable encouragement, make every desirable improvement in the mechanical depart-

ment of the paper. To those who have occasion to employ a printer, either on book or job work, and have regard to neatness in the execution, he is able to give entire satisfaction.

The cooperation of both gentlemen will doubtless render the *Herald* a very valuable paper, and make it in all respects, creditable to the character of the town and highly acceptable to its numerous and intelligent subscribers.

Wm. S. Allen

It is interesting to note that William H. Brewster, whom Mr. Allen did not know particularly well in 1832, became his brother-in-law five years later when he married Mary Young Allen. He was one of the Portsmouth Brewsters.

Mr. Morss was at that time, 1832, a young man of twenty-four years. Eight years later he married Martha Hall Boardman, sister of Hon. Isaac H. Boardman, one-time Mayor of Newburyport.

Morss and Brewster continued together for many years at 9 Cornhill. Meanwhile, the paper prospered. But, it never had a greater leadership than it enjoyed under the old editor, Ephraim W. Allen.

On March 8, 1846, Mr. Allen died. He was only sixty-six, but he had had a full life.

Mr. Allen was the conductor of the *Herald* for thirty years, interrupted only by one or two brief intervals. He was distinguished for energy and industry and in the days of his early career, was the printer, the editor and carrier of his paper. In those times, the communication with Boston was so slow that not infrequently when important events were pending, Mr. Allen would prepare his paper for press on the day previous to its publication and then proceed on horseback to Boston, return with what news was to be found there put it in type, work off the sheets with his own hand, and then distribute them himself to his subscribers. Such devotion and industry in any other pursuit would have been rewarded with an ample fortune, but in a vocation which if rightly conducted is one of the most responsible and arduous in the community, as well as one of the most inadequately appreciated and poorly rewarded, he found himself when he surrendered the *Herald* to the present proprietors twelve



years ago in the possession of a very moderate competency, as the hard earnings and prudent savings of thirty years of untiring toil.

The biography of Mr. Allen would be embraced in the history of the town for a long period during its most prosperous as well as its most adverse days, and the historian would find his name so blended and identified with that of the town that he would seek in vain to separate them. He made no pretension to great talents and was unambitious of distinction, seeking only to discharge faithfully the duties incumbent upon him. Mr. Allen enjoyed highly the pleasures of social and domestic life, was always to be relied upon as a kind neighbor, warm-hearted friend and pleasant and affable companion and devoted himself as ardently to the welfare of his family and friends as to the prosecution of his business.

On leaving the *Herald* Mr. Allen made a temporary sojourn in the State of Missouri, where three of his sons are settled, but afterwards returned, and on the accession of the Whig administration received an appointment in the Newburyport Custom House but on the assumption of power by the present administration in order to save the new collector on the one hand from the censures of partizans for retaining a political opponent in office and on the other from the regret of rejecting an old friend and contemporary with characteristic good feeling, he voluntarily resigned his office.

Nearly twenty years ago, the attention of Mr. Allen was directed to religious matters in which he engaged with the same steady and unwavering zeal for which he was distinguished and soon after connected himself with the church of the Rev. Mr. Dimmick, of which he has ever since been a respected and useful member.

Morss and Brewster continued the sole proprietors of the *Herald* until January 3, 1854, when William H. Huse, publisher of the *Daily Evening Union* was taken into the partnership and his paper merged with the *Herald*.

From that time on until February 1, 1887, nearly a quarter of a century, the *Herald* was the undisputed master of the Newburyport journalistic field. This is not to say that there was no competition—from time to time a small paper would spring up and either go out of business for financial reasons or for lack of subscriptions.

The year 1887 saw the advent of the Newburyport *News*, under the capable guidance of Fred E. Smith and James H. Higgins and it was a matter of time only when the new paper would increase in strength and numbers to such a point that it would prove a real competitor of the old *Herald*. There was a great deal of sentiment connected with the *Herald*. Many of the old families of Newburyport and Newbury read their *Herald* religiously. There was a galaxy of good writers connected with the *Herald*, even from its earliest days, when Isaiah Thomas came into Newburyport to look over the field and was succeeded by John Mycall, Edmund March Blunt, a master genius, Ephraim W. Allen, Joseph B. Morss, George J. L. Colby, William H. Huse, Arthur L. Huse and the Withingtons. It was considered a mark of distinction to have served an apprenticeship on the old paper and when it breathed its last in October, 1915, there was a genuine sigh of regret in many families where the *Herald* was a household word.

On January 3, 1854, the paper appeared with Morss, Brewster and Huse as the publishers and Joseph B. Morss and George J. L. Colby as the editors. On December 31, 1855, Morss, Brewster and Huse appeared for the last time as the publishers. The following day the paper came out with William H. Huse & Co., as the publishers.

There was a statement signed by Messrs. Morss and Brewster announcing the formation of the new company. George J. L. Colby would remain as editor, Benjamin F. Carter would assist in the financial management and John Q. A. Stone would superintend the printing and job press.

It was rather a nostalgic message. "Since the *Herald* has been our charge," they said, "the children of many families to which it has been a constant visitant have grown up into men and women, and in numerous instances have come forward voluntarily to inform us of their consciousness that the paper exerted a wholesome influence upon them and they recur with pleasant memories to the reading of its columns in early life." One young man wrote in not long before that and said, "The *Herald* is associated with the thoughts of my youngest days. I can

truly say that many of its true and noble lessons have not been to me as a single reader inculcated in vain."

At that time the *Herald* was located at 42 State Street and there it remained for many years.

It is impossible to gauge the influence that Mr. Morss had on the readers of the *Herald*. And it was not only a friendly gesture, but one particularly worthwhile that he was retained as an "editor-emeritus." "The senior editor" says the announcement, "who has been in the office from his early boyhood, having entered it as an apprentice in 1824 and within a few weeks had the exclusive charge of the commercial and marine department given into his hands, cannot at this time write his valedictory as a part of the arrangement now consummated is that he shall give to the responsible editor such assistance as may be desired and his leisure hours may enable him to perform."

It is interesting to glance through the old *Herald* editions of those days, and to realize with what pride the old-time editors gave the startling news events of the world to their readers. The formal make-up of the newspaper was a little different then than now, but the public got the news nevertheless. Witness the edition of November 7, 1861:

BY TELEGRAPH  
To The Newburyport Herald  
THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION SETTLED  
LINCOLN ELECTED  
By  
AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY

And less than four years later:

APPALLING CIRCUMSTANCE  
THE  
PRESIDENT DEAD!  
ESCAPE OF THE MURDERER  
ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF SEC-  
RETARY SEWARD  
J. WILKES BOOTH, THE ACTOR, THE ASSASSIN

Those were the news sensations of the day; the startling information that gripped the souls of men and women and

whetted their interest in the press. It was a far cry to the yellow journalism that was rampant thirty years later, yet it served its purpose in a more dignified manner.

There were few changes in the *Herald* from 1855 to 1889. Caleb B. Huse and George Wood were taken into the firm of William H. Huse & Co. in 1859, and John Coombs in 1862, and Arthur L. Huse in 1871. Caleb B. Huse was a brother of William H. Huse and Arthur L. Huse was a son.

On September 16, 1883, Joseph B. Morss, the old editor of the *Herald* died very suddenly, of apoplexy. He was a son of Clark and Susanna (Brown) Morss and a great grandson of Oliver Clarke, a well known innkeeper in Newbury in the early years of the eighteenth century. He had had a long and active career on the *Herald* and following a short period as editor "emeritus" he became a member of the editorial staff of the *Boston Traveler* and also of the *Boston Courier*. And then he retired actively from journalistic duties and devoted himself to business. He had served in the State Legislature in 1838, 1839 and 1840, and was again sent to Boston in 1874. He served as an Alderman in Newburyport in 1872 and 1873 and was a trustee of the Newburyport Public Library and of the Putnam Free School. He was at one time president of the Ocean, Masconomet and Bartlet Mills, president of the Newburyport Water Company and of the Newburyport and Amesbury Horse Railroad and was also a member of the firm of French & Hortan, shipping agents and a partner of his brother-in-law, Isaac H. Boardman and Capt. Henry Cook.

Shortly after the death of William H. Huse, the company went into the hands of a receiver, pending its sale, to Frederic H. Hills and Benjamin A. Appleton, when the name was changed to the Newburyport Herald Company and on December 2, 1889, William H. Huse & Co. appeared for the last time.

The ownership of the *Herald* remained in pretty much the same hands until January 11, 1909, when Benjamin A. Appleton sold it to Charles Wayland Towne, a Boston newspaperman.



Mr. Towne was a son of the Rev. Charles A. Towne, a native of Danvers and pastor in various New Hampshire and Massachusetts churches, and graduated from Brown University, following which he entered the employ of the New York *Times* and the Boston *Herald*. He was a man of dynamic personality and two years before had established the *Leader* (April, 1907), which bore on the mast-head the slogan:

"The first to show an open mind  
The last to have an axe to grind"

J. Frederick Cole was the city editor and Frederic W. Parsons the business manager of this sheet, which, while it bore a considerable contrast to the staid old *Herald*, had made friends and undeniably had readers in the old town.

When Mr. Towne purchased the Newburyport Herald Company, he naturally merged the two papers. Mr. Towne became the president; Moses Brown, business manager and Nathan Noyes Withington and Arthur L. Huse, editors. Mr. Towne retained his interest in the *Herald* until February 19, 1912 when he sold his share to Laurence P. Dodge, Leonard Withington, Henry Bailey Little and others. Mr. Little became the president of the Herald Publishing Company, Mr. Dodge, treasurer and Mr. Withington, clerk. Under the new arrangement, Leonard Withington was the managing editor; his grandfather, Nathan N. Withington, contributing editor and Frederic W. Parsons city editor.

Meanwhile, before we go on at too great speed with the story of the newspapers, let us record the death on November 30, 1890 of George J. L. Colby, editor of the *Herald* from 1854 until 1872, and publisher of the *Merri-mac Valley Visitor* from about 1872 until 1885.

Mr. Colby was a native of Newbury where he was born January 12, 1819, a son of Joseph Lunt Colby. His father wanted to apprentice him to a trade, but soon saw that he had a fondness for literature, so decided to send him to college. He attended the Maine Wesleyan Seminary and later Wesleyan University at Middletown, Connecticut and after leaving school journeyed to Lowell where he started a small paper in 1839. He was then twenty

years of age. Three years later he was in Amesbury where he established an anti-slavery paper. But they were doomed to failure, first because of lack of funds and second because of lack of anti-slavery sympathy. While in Amesbury he did get help from John Greenleaf Whittier, whose views on slavery were well-known, but the latter as did William Lloyd Garrison, felt that young Colby could put to better use his undenied talent on a large and firmly established paper. And so Mr. Colby joined forces with William H. Huse in founding the *Daily Evening Union*, and followed him into the *Herald*. Mr. Colby retained his position in the *Herald* until 1872. He never lost interest in journalism, but he desired greater freedom and so relinquished his honored post. He could not, however, resist temptation to publish a newspaper and as late as March, 1890, the year of his death, he started the *Saturday Night*, the sire of the well-remembered but not greatly beloved Newburyport *Item*.

Let us get on to January 11, 1909. On this date there appeared in the Newburyport Morning *Herald* (which was the title then used) a notice that,

With this issue of the Newburyport Morning *Herald* Mr. B. A. Appleton who has been the publisher of the paper retires from that position, those duties being assumed by Mr. Charles W. Towne, who has purchased a controlling interest in the *Herald*.

Mr. Appleton will still make his residence in this city but will give more of his time . . . to Boston newspaper work.

N. N. Withington, the well-beloved dean of Newburyport newspaperdom, will contribute editorials, as will Arthur L. Huse, for years the brilliant contributor to the *Herald's* columns, and the son of the long time proprietor. These two gentlemen, both veterans, will do much to restore the *Herald* to its pristine dignity and influence.

William C. Coffin, for twenty-seven years with the *Herald*, has a record of faithfulness and efficient service that insures complete success in the city department.

It is not intended to change the personality or individuality of the *Herald* or *Leader*, the excellent staff of both papers being retained.

Nathan N. Withington in the same edition, says that the

aim of the news management will be to give more news, more original matter, more definite and pronounced opinions and to maintain the dignity and literary quality which secured the respect of the public for many years.

Mr. Withington further says:

There have been many changes in newspaper methods and work since the present writer began regular service on the *Herald* 40 years ago this present year, particularly in reporting public meetings and lyceum lectures. The reporter attended the lectures and took notes, but as the compositors did not stop longer than 9 or 10 o'clock in the evening, except upon election nights, the notes were written out the next day and were published the second morning after the lecture. This was not satisfactory and Mr. Huse, who called the *Herald* in private an evening paper published in the morning, tried the experiment of issuing it as an evening paper, but the public objected so vigorously that the plan was dropped with a thud.

Promoted to the position of editor in 1870, we soon changed so as to make the *Herald* really a morning paper with the news up to the date of the midnight of that morning so that it was an epoch in the history of the *Herald* as important as that of 1832 when Jeremiah S. Allen, son of the senior proprietor established the Daily Morning *Herald* which met with immediate favor and in the town and nearest suburbs superseded the Semi-Weekly *Herald* which had grown out of the weekly established in 1793.

For many years the politics and discussion of public interests of every kind, religious, social, business and political was not done in the office but by the leading men of the town and as Essex county for years led Massachusetts in politics and Judge Theophilus Parsons was the leader or as goes the present phrase, the boss of the Essex Junto, the *Herald* was one of the leading political papers of Massachusetts, although it appeared but once a week. "Mr. Editor" was not a writing man, but he had the intimacy of the ablest men in public life of this state and their help in making his paper the chief intellectual food of a constituency reaching far beyond the narrow limits of Newburyport which were then less than a square mile in extent.

When Morss & Brewster took charge of the Daily *Herald* Mr. Morss filled the place of the modern newspaper editor. The leading men of the town wrote much on politics and

local affairs but he was the leading and editorial writer and a powerful influence in the town as long as he lived and so was the *Herald* longer than he lived. Mr. Huse was one of the shrewdest newspaper managers and a political boss such as our city lacks at the present time. Whether the mayor of the city were Republican or Democrat or neighbor, he found it necessary to consult Mr. Huse who knew the city business as he did his own and had all the details of its history at his fingers' tips.

Mr. Towne remained in control of the *Herald* until February 19, 1912, when announcement was made of its sale to a new group of stockholders of which Henry Bailey Little was president; Laurence P. Dodge, treasurer and Leonard Withington, clerk. Mr. Withington was the managing editor. Mr. Little was a shoe manufacturer and banker and at this writing is still living at the advanced age of 101 years. Mr. Dodge is a son of the late ex-Mayor Elisha P. Dodge, also well-known as a shoe manufacturer in Newburyport. Mr. Withington was the eldest son of David Little Withington, and a grandson of Nathan N. Withington.

During the summer of 1915, it became apparent that the *Herald* was undergoing tough-sledding. Clement Bernheimer was induced to put some money into the paper and there were spasmodic attempts at reorganization. Much was made of the fact that once again the old sheet was being published and edited by "natives" and not "furriners," the explanation being that Mr. Towne was not a native-born Newburyporter.

But even this appeal to the sympathies and sentiment of its readers failed to bring in sufficient money. The old paper was doomed and it was a good deal like the burning house—burning because there was no water ready at hand. Everyone hated to see it go. For so many years it had been the "first thing in the morning."

But the fateful day came, October 2, 1915 and Leonard Withington in his editorial "Closing the Book," the last message from the old journal, bids a fond farewell, in the following words:

Unless someone with vision and a deep regard for New-



buryport together with funds for the purpose comes forward before Monday this will be the last issue of the Newburyport *Herald*.

One cannot write these words without deep feeling and at such a moment words cannot keep pace with thoughts and what is written is woefully inadequate to express what is in the heart and mind.

For 142 years, first as *The Essex Journal* and since 1793 as the *Herald* this newspaper has chronicled the affairs of our little but well loved city.

It recorded the ambitions, the disappointments, the joys and the sorrows of our grandfathers' grandfathers. It fought for the nation in the Revolution and in the tragic days of other wars. It stood for Newburyport in every crisis, morning after morning. Without a break, it has come into our homes with a message of cheer and with the story of the world's day, if good or ill, but always—thank God—with the good in the ascendancy.

Our little days of triumph and our bitter defeat have been written in its columns day by day, our successes with generous praise, our failures with ready sympathy and encouraging cheer.

Who can say when these words of farewell are read how many gray grandmothers will turn into the family Bible and once more take out that faded clipping pressed between a bit of satin and a few faded orange blossoms and read what the old *Herald* said of her day of days.

How many mothers will read again with tears that almost blot out the yellowed print, the little paragraph that is laid away with a lock of fair and curly hair and perhaps a pair of baby shoes that is all save a little stone on yonder hill and fragrant memories to tell of a little voice that gave its day of happiness and is now forever still.

Now, unless those who realize what it will mean to Newburyport to be without a morning newspaper and without that newspaper competition that means so much to a community's life come to its rescue, the last words must be written and the book of nearly a century and a half closed.

But it must not be closed without a word of high praise—poor recompense though it be—to the loyal men and women who have kept the *Herald* flag flying through storm and stress by splendid loyalty and a word of thanks to those who have had the vision to help in one way or another.

The closing of the book will, we believe, bring a sense of

loss and regret to thousands. But the record of service to Newburyport and to its people and in a sense to the state and nation and to humanity that the Newburyport *Herald* has made makes the sacrifice seem to have been worth the making.

And so unless the hand of fate is stayed between this morning and Monday this will be good-bye after 142 years of partnership in the upbuilding of Newburyport. But, though the *Herald* may not go on, Newburyport will. May her future be what her past entitles it to be.

The week-end passed and none came forward to save the doomed paper and so after a long service—a service that had encompassed four or five generations, even from the days of the Revolution—the *Herald* became a thing of the past, just a memory but a memory that was pleasant and especially to those who had had a hand in carrying it on.

This demise left the Newburyport *News* alone in the field. The competition which had been more or less theoretical for 25 years was never great, especially after the turn of the century for it was inevitable that the new paper would grow and prosper and occupy the commanding field in Newburyport journalism.

It started in a small way under the guidance of Fred E. Smith and James H. Higgins. In 1887 it had six pages; the following year it went to seven and in 1890, it was getting out eight pages. From the beginning it enjoyed good advertising and it wasn't long before it was obliged to enlarge its size. In 1894, it was running eight columns and late in November, 1890 it was issuing a second edition. From the very start it gave much space to the suburban communities, particularly Amesbury and the Amesbury edition of July 5, 1888 sported eight pages.

This edition featured the dedication of the statue of Dr. Josiah Bartlett, Amesbury native, Signer of the Declaration of Independence and Governor of New Hampshire, in his native town. It was the gift of one of Amesbury's prominent citizens, Jacob R. Huntington and was unveiled by Mr. Huntington's young grandson, five year old John Sauveur Poyen.

In October, 1890, there was a souvenir edition of eight

pages that sold for five cents. It featured Newburyport's principal industry, shoe manufacture and had pictures of Mayor Elisha P. Dodge, Aldermen Putnam, S. Herbert Noyes, Israel A. Morse, ex-Mayor Orrin J. Gurney and others and a nice picture of the Merrimac river water front, Chain bridge, the Towle Manufacturing Company, Caldwell's Distillery. This, I believe, was the first attempt of the *News* to get out a souvenir edition that would feature the city and it evidently proved a popular move.

Advertising was fairly cheap even down to the opening of the century, four lines for 25 cents and the paper continued to sell for one cent, down to 1919. There were also many interesting features that made the *News* popular with the readers. The "Newslings," of course was popular and where the *Herald* had its "Pot Pourri," the *News* featured "Prattle, Presage, People," which continued until February 20, 1909 when it became "The Prattler." There was also a column called "With the Little Ones" and formerly another, titled "In Woman's Realm." "Timely Opinion," usually the sage observations of some figure in public life lent a cosmopolitan air to the journal and of course "A Bit of Spice" was usually good for a laugh or two. This was a witty column and sparkling.

On October 6, 1919, the *News* raised the price of the paper to two cents. This was the first increase and was decided upon after considerable thought as the announcement of October 1 says. It was the question of a curtailment of service or the maintenance of a proper ratio between income and expense and the upholding of quality and improvement at a new price.

The step was taken after several urgings by the War Industries Board and it is to the credit of the *News* that it was one of the few one cent papers still in existence at the time and that it resisted the change long after many other papers had given way to the trend of the times. Naturally since the second World War and the increasing cost of everything from materials to labor it has been necessary for the *News* to adjust its prices.

It cannot be denied that the success of the *News* has

been largely the result of the efficient efforts of Fred E. Smith and James H. Higgins, who began their newspaper careers in the 80's. And it was a sad note when Mr. Smith died February 25, 1933.

He had proved himself a wise and beneficent employer and an undeniably true journalist of the best type. Born in Newburyport, August 10, 1862, son of John H. and Aroline F. (Hutchings) Smith, he had early found employment on the old Newburyport *Herald*. Later he opened a print shop in Ipswich and gained connections with the Boston *Globe* and the Ipswich *Chronicle*. In 1887, he bought the old *Germ*, which was being published a bit weakly by M. C. Teel & Son.

On February 1, 1887 appeared the first issue of the Newburyport *News*. He was soon joined by James H. Higgins, whose business acumen kept the infant paper on an even keel and with sails spread to attract the breeze. Messrs. Smith and Higgins continued to publish the *News* until 1912, when it became a corporation.

In 1908, Messrs. Smith and Higgins bought the Gloucester *Times* and in 1912 gained a controlling interest in the Lynn *News*, which later became the *Telegram-News*. Mr. Higgins also became the publisher and treasurer of the Boston *Herald-Traveler*, and remained in that position until his retirement in 1921. His death occurred July 31, 1938.

Mr. Smith also served as postmaster of the city, being appointed in March, 1898 by President McKinley and he served for eight years under both McKinley and Roosevelt.

Few newspapermen, who began as printers "devils" have been more successful and Mr. Smith was probably the most outstanding member of the Fourth Estate that the city has produced, with the possible exception of John Mycall nearly a century before. Having begun his career in the print shop he rose to the ownership of two newspapers at the time of his death and at one time was prominent in the management of two others.

He was a true newspaperman knowing news and knowing how to write it. Never did he turn a deaf ear to an



appeal for support of any worthy enterprise and the success of a great many of the civic betterment movements whether it be a drive for a new school, a charity campaign or anything of the kind, can be attributed to his community spirit and great love for the city that gave him birth.

Starting his newspaper back in the days of hand-set type, when newspaper presses in the smaller offices were operated by man power and when news was not "played up" in the manner associated with the present-day type of newspaper, he saw his business grow into a thoroughly-equipped industry, up to date in every respect. He, like all true publishers, quickly saw the benefits of modern machinery and the conveniences that made for better newspapers and easier work and he installed many of them as they were produced.

In 1933, Edward E. Hicken, long prominent in journalistic circles, became a commanding figure in the *News* family, assuming the presidency of the corporation which included besides James H. Higgins, Nathan D. Rodigrass and James E. Mannix.

This arrangement existed under the heirs of these gentlemen until January, 1952, when the *News* was sold to Philip S. Weld of Essex, who also assumed ownership of the Gloucester *Times*. Mr. Weld is an accomplished newspaperman of years of experience and the destiny of the old paper seems to have settled into safe and competent hands.

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

1. Isaiah Thomas (1749-1831) born in Boston, son of Moses and Fidelity (Grant) Thomas. Apprenticed to Zachariah Fowle when a youth. Went to Halifax in 1765, apprenticed to Anthony Henry. Stayed there one year. Next in Portsmouth, N. H. with Daniel Fowle, publisher of the New Hampshire Gazette. The following year went to Wilmington, N. C. and from there to Charleston, S. C. In 1770, returned to Boston and went into partnership with Zachariah Fowle and published the Massachusetts Spy; also the Royal American Magazine. In 1773, published the Essex Journal and Merrimack Packet in Newburyport. He was one of the founders and president of the American Antiquarian Society; Grand Master of Masons of Massachusetts; author of a History of Printing and is generally considered the father of Modern American Printing and the Publishing Business. He married (1) Mary Dill, daughter of Joseph Dill of Bermuda; (2) Mary (Thomas) Fowle, daughter of William Thomas and widow of Isaac Fowle; (3) Rebecca Armstrong, daughter of John Armstrong. The Thomas Typographical Society was named for him.

2. Ezra Lunt (1743-1803) born in Newbury, Mass., son of Matthew and Jane (Moody) Lunt. Ran a stagecoach between Newburyport and Boston and later kept a tavern at the corner of Water and Federal Streets in Newburyport. He served as captain of the first company organized in Newburyport during the Revolution. Partner with Isaiah Thomas in newspaper business in Newburyport. Served in Shay's Rebellion and late in life removed to Marietta, Ohio where he died. He married (1) Elizabeth Peirce and (2) Mary (Pike) Coffin, daughter of Timothy Pike.

3. John Mycall (1757-1840) born in Worcester, England. Came to America in 1775, settling at Amesbury where he taught school. He was one of the best known printers and publishers of his time and the extent of his work is very great. In 1798 he removed to Harvard, Massachusetts, where he kept a store and served as justice of the peace. Owing to some litigation he returned to Newburyport where he died. He was a fine organist and set up the first organ in Newburyport and also sent up the first balloon. He owned telescopes, musical clocks and was a friend of Benjamin Franklin. He married (1) Mary Hoyt, daughter of Theodore Hoyt of Amesbury and (2) Elizabeth (Parsons) Chandler, widow

of Samuel Chandler and daughter of Capt. Jonathan Parsons and granddaughter of the Rev. Jonathan Parsons of Newburyport.

4. Edmund March Blunt (1770-1862) son of William and Elizabeth (March) Blunt, and grandson of Rev. Edmund March. He came to Newburyport in 1793 and opened a bookstore, "The Sign of the Bible." He also began the publishing of books and turned out "The Village Curate," Nicholas Pike's, "Ready Reckoner or Traders Useful Assistant" and the most important of all, "The American Coast Pilot." After his career in the newspaper publishing business he went to New York City where first with William Hooker and later with his sons, George W. and Edmund M. Blunt, Jr., he had a store in which were sold all sorts of nautical instruments, the best known of its kind, probably, in the country. He married Sally Ross, daughter of Capt. David Ross. (See Essex Inst. Hist. Colls., vol. LXXIX, pp. 101-113).

5. Angier March (1773-1812) born in Newbury, son of Hon. Ebenezer and Abigail (Smith) March and grandson of Rev. Edmund and Mary (Whittemore) March. First cousin of Edmund March Blunt. Kept a bookstore on the north side of Market Square in Newburyport. In business at one time with William Barrett, with whom he published the Rev. James Noyes Catechism, also an Eulogy on General George Washington. He established the Essex Circulating Library in Newburyport in 1803. He married Sarah Perkins, daughter of Matthew Perkins and sister of Jacob Perkins, the bank-note engraver. She later married (2) Ivory Hovey and (3) Jonathan Gage.

6. Ephraim Williams Allen (1779-1846) born in Attleboro, Mass., son of Ephraim and Huldah (Brown) Allen. Came to Newburyport at the beginning of the nineteenth century and was employed by the Newburyport Herald which he later purchased. He ran a press in Newburyport as early as 1804. He married Dorothy Stickney, daughter of William Stickney of Byfield.

7. Capt. Jeremiah Stickney (1780-1821) son of William and Mary (Thurston) Stickney. He was in business with his brother-in-law, Ephraim W. Allen for a time but his health failing he began a career upon the sea, sailing as supercargo and master. He owned the ship "Echo" and was one of the members of the Merrimack Humane Society. Three of his brothers-in-law were well-known Newburyport

sea captains, namely Capt. Isaac Stone, Capt. Jeremiah Young and Capt. Moses Brown.

8. Isaac Knapp, 3rd, (1804-1843) born in Newbury, son of Philip Coombs and Abigail (Remmick) Knapp. He was a partner of William Lloyd Garrison and as such \$5000 was once offered for his capture in the south. He married Adaline Brewer Thayer, daughter of Lieut. Cotton Thayer.

9. William Henry Huse (1823-1888) born in Newburyport, Mass., son of Joseph and Elizabeth (Lawrence) Huse. He served as representative to the Legislature from Newburyport in 1855-6; Alderman of the city of Newburyport, 1861-2-3-6; Collector of Customs, 1870 to 1886 and Mayor of Newburyport, 1888, dying in office. He was a member of the Newburyport Water Company and the Mechanic Library Association. He married (1) Rebecca Orne Wood, daughter of Amos Wood and (2) Laura Ann Hayes, daughter of George W. Hayes.

10. George Joseph Lunt Colby (1819-1890) born in Newbury, son of Joseph Lunt and Hannah (Fowler) Colby. Attended Maine Wesleyan Seminary at Readfield, Maine and for a time taught school at West Newbury. In 1839 he published a newspaper in Lowell. He also lectured extensively on slavery and temperance. Removed to Newburyport in 1846 and for several years was a clerk in the Post Office. In 1866 he was appointed postmaster of Newburyport and was elected representative to the Legislature from Newburyport for the 1870 and 1871 terms. He wrote a history of Newburyport, Newbury and West Newbury. In 1880 he was elected county commissioner and held office three years. He also served in the same office for 1884-1886. He married Sarah A. Thompson, daughter of Daniel Thompson.

11. Nathan Noyes Withington (1828-1914) born in Newbury, son of Rev. Leonard and Caroline (Noyes) Withington, and grandson of Dr. Nathan Noyes. He graduated from Amherst in 1851 and attended Yale. Served in the 11th Massachusetts Volunteers during the Civil War and was a representative in the Legislature from Newburyport in 1891. He was a charter member of the Historical Society of Old Newbury and was well known as a writer on many subjects. He married Elizabeth Little, daughter of Tristram Little of Newbury.



# THE RELATIONSHIP OF NATURAL FEATURES TO THE PLACE NAMES OF CAPE ANN, MASSACHUSETTS

By RALPH W. DEXTER  
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In selecting names for places, both natural and cultural, one is apt to draw to a certain extent upon descriptive features of the environment. This is particularly true if the region possesses some outstanding features of natural beauty or commercial importance. An analysis of the place names at Cape Ann, Massachusetts, was made to determine the extent and nature of such choices. This region was selected because it is well known to the writer. It is a geographic unit with definite boundaries, and its settlement and development have centered around natural resources. Cape Ann was visited by Samuel de Champlain who applied the first name to this region based on natural environment. *The Historical Marker Erected by Massachusetts Bay Colony Tercentenary Commission 1930* reads as follows: "In September, 1606, Samuel de Champlain landed at Rocky Neck in what is now Gloucester Harbor, to caulk his shallop, and make an accurate chart of the harbor which he called Le Beauport." Place names have been assigned in this region since Gloucester was settled in 1623. On the eastern end of Cape Ann the settlement of Sandy Bay was incorporated in 1754, separated from Gloucester in 1840, and became the Town of Rockport. These two communities with their satellite villages occupy the promontory of Cape Ann, some thirty miles northeast of Boston. Each developed around a natural resource. Gloucester throughout its history has centered around the fishing industry, becoming one of the leading fishing ports in North America. Rockport developed around the granite industry, in which it was important until recent years. Both communities in recent times have become centers of the tourist trade because of the natural beauty and the favorable summer climate of Cape Ann.

This paper will attempt to show the relative influence of the natural environment on the selection of place names at Cape Ann. All names pertaining to natural features directly or indirectly are included. No effort has been made to trace the historical account or original reasons for assigning the names considered here. That such names were consciously and intentionally chosen because of the natural environment cannot be proved in all cases, but it is assumed that basically the environment has influenced the choice of name, and in most cases the relationship seems self-evident. In a few cases where it is known that a name suggesting a natural feature actually came from some other source, it was eliminated from discussion here. Information has been obtained from the various published and unpublished maps of Cape Ann, deposited in the Historical House of the Cape Ann Scientific, Literary, and Historical Association and the series of city directories of Gloucester and Rockport published by Sampson, Davenport, and Co., Sampson, Murdock and Co., and Polk's City Directory. Babson's "History of the Town of Gloucester, Cape Ann (including the Town of Rockport)" was also used. Acknowledgement is made to Professor Alfred Mansfield Brooks, Curator of the Cape Ann Scientific, Literary, and Historical Association and Professor Hallock F. Raup, Head of the Department of Geography and Geology of Kent State University, for their assistance in this study and for a critical reading of the manuscript.

#### NAMES OF PLACES, COVES, ISLANDS, ETC.

It would be logical to assume that marine life would play an important part in the local names of a region surrounded by the sea. Actually the number of place names with such an origin is less than would be expected. The following six are the only ones known: Lobster Cove, Mussel Point, Bass Rocks, Halibut Point, Alewife Brook, and Whale Cove. There are twice as many names derived from non-marine animals. These are: Goose Cove, Pigeon Hill, Pigeon Cove, Pigeon Harbor, Dogbar, Dogbar Breakwater, Dogtown Commons, Bear Skin Neck, Wolf Hill, Beaver Dam, Ram Island, and Cow Island.

An equal number of names has been based upon local plant life and vegetation. Such are as follows: Plum Cove, Grapevine Cove, Lily Pond, Fernwood Lake, Brier Neck, Magnolia (village), Magnolia Point, Magnolia Swamp, Riverdale Willows (or Annisquam Willows), Cedar Point, Arbutus Hill, and Mayflower Ledge. The village of Magnolia derived its name from *Magnolia virginiana* (formerly *M. glauca*) which was found to be a native shrub in the region, and represents the northern extremity of its distribution.

Topographic and physical features of the region are responsible for somewhat more than a third of the geographic names. These are nearly equally divided between those of marine and non-marine origin. From marine sources have come the names: Ocean View, Bay View, Riverdale, Riverview, Sandy Bay, Harbor Cove, Stoney Cove, Pebble Cove, Good Harbor Beach, and Salt Island. It should be kept in mind that the word "river" as used in place names at Cape Ann refers to a marine tidal inlet, the Annisquam River and its branches. The name Annisquam, derived from an Algonquin name, means "pleasant waters." Non-marine place names are: Freshwater Cove, Rocky Neck, Rockport, High Popples, Land's End, Gully Point, and Gully Point Cove.

The three main categories—animal life, plant life, and physical features have influenced the place names about equally. Out of a total of 124 place names currently in use at Cape Ann, 38 per cent are derived from these sources.

#### NAMES OF STREETS, AVENUES, ROADS, ETC.

Because of the early settlement of Cape Ann and its haphazard growth, streets and roadways were not planned but came into existence as conditions and circumstances directed. The result is an irregular pattern of many public ways of varying length and direction and date from various periods over 300 years' time. This has led to a large number of short streets and courts, but the multiplicity of names in a restricted area gives a larger sample for analysis in such a study as this. The table below of

certain selected years shows the growth in the number of streets in Gloucester and Rockport, the number and percentage of names derived from natural features, and the number of marine origin. It will be seen that the percentage of names derived from the environment has been nearly constant. Also, the total number of marine origin is smaller than one might expect from a seaport community.

TABLE I. STREET NAMES OF CAPE ANN

	Total No.	No. from Marine Origin	No. from all Natural Features	Per cent from Natural Features
1860				
(Gloucester only)	45	2	8	17.8
1870	131	7	25	19.1
1903	413	18	80	19.3
1948-49	633	33	125	19.7

Not many streets have been named after marine life, and all but one that bear such names are minor thoroughfares. These are: Mussel Point Road, Nautilus Road, Bass Avenue and Bass Rocks Road. One road in Gloucester, Dogtown Road, and two in Rockport, Pigeon Hill Street and Pigeon Hill Court, were indirectly named after non-marine animals. Plant names and vegetation, on the other hand, have been used often in providing street names. Those in Gloucester from native plants are as follows: (in this and subsequent lists the word street applies except where a term is given).

Acacia	Fernwood Heights
Barberry Lane and Way	Fernwood Lake Ave.
Brier Road	Forest Street and Lane
Brierwood	Grape Vine Road
Cedar	Grove
Cherry	Hickory
Chestnut	High Bush Road
Elm	Holly
Evergreen Road	Ivy Ct.
Fern Cliff	Ivy Hill Ct.



Laurel	Plum St. and Ct.
Locust	Poplar St. and Ct.
Magnolia Avenue	Sylvan St. and Ct.
Maple Street and Road	Vine
Maplewood Ave., Ct., and Place	Walnut
Oak	Willow
Pine	

In Rockport, only eight plant names have been used: Brierstone Road, Cedar, Forest, Oakland Ave., Pine, Thornwood Ave., Vine Ave., and Woodside Ave.

Topographic and physical features have been drawn upon for the greater part of street names that have been derived from the natural environment. These fall in two general categories. First, those associated in some way with the ocean or seashore, and those of non-marine reference. Those in Gloucester having marine connotation are:

Atlantic St. and Road	Marshfield
Atlantic Highlands	Ocean Ave.
Beach St., Ct., and Road	River Road
Beachcroft Road	Riverdale Place
Beauport Ave.	Riverside St., and Ave.
Beachmont Ave.	Rocky Shore Road
Harbor Road and Terrace	Salt Island Road
Harbor View Ct.	Shore Road
Marsh	Water

In Rockport those of marine reference are: Atlantic Ave., Beach, Cove Ave. and Ct., Cove Hill Lane, Long Beach, and Ocean Ave.

Gloucester Streets of non-marine origin are as follows:

Boulder Ave.	Gravel Pit Road
Clay Ct.	Highland St., Ave., Ct.,
Cliff Road	Place, and Road
Edgemoor Road	High Popples Road
Edgewood Road	Hillside Ct. and Road
Field Road	Lake Ave. and Road
Freshwater Cove Road	Ledge Lane and Road
Granite St. and Ct.	Ledgemont Ave.

Moorland Road	Rocky Neck Ave.
Mt. Ann Road	Rocky Pasture Road
Quarry St. and Road	Spring St. and Ct.
Rockland	Stone Ct.

In Rockport eight street names come from non-marine physical features: Granite, Headland Ave., Headlands, Highland St., Ave., and Road, Hillside Ave., and Spring Lane.

#### INAPPROPRIATE NAMES

Two names based upon natural features have been introduced on Cape Ann which are inappropriate since they do not reflect the character of the local region. In Rockport there was an avenue named Palmetto Ave., according to the directory of 1873, but this name, based on a southern group of plants, is no longer in use. Alpine Court in Gloucester, is scarcely high enough to justify the name from the viewpoint of expressing a real topographic relationship, in spite of the fact that it is located on a hill top. It is not known to the writer why the above names were employed on Cape Ann, but certainly they were not suggested by the environment of this region.

#### CHANGED NAMES AND OBSOLETE NAMES

Place names are occasionally changed for one reason or another, and some become obsolete or disappear in time. The older maps and directories of Cape Ann contain names formerly in good usage but now replaced or seldom used. Those which were based upon natural features of the area are discussed here.

On a "Map of Riverdale, Gloucester, Massachusetts, as of 1741," the hill now known as Riverview was called Huckleberry Hill, and the nearby island now called Cow Island was labelled as Skunk Island. On some early maps Rocky Neck was known as Peter Mud's Neck. The "Map of Gloucester by John Mason in 1831" gives the name of Whortleberry Hill for the section now called Wheeler's Point. Another map by John Mason entitled "Plan of Gloucester Harbor, 1834-35" uses the name

Spring Cove for what is now called Vincent's Cove. On some old maps (Map of John Mason 1831; Maps of Gloucester 1851, 1872) the present Main Street is labelled Spring Street, a name which persists today, but is applied to a different location. The same maps and the directories of 1870-71 and 1875, contain the name Sea Street for what is now the lower half of Hancock Street. Niles Pond at Eastern Point, originally known as Great Pond, is shown on the "Map of Towns of Gloucester and Rockport, Essex County, Massachusetts, 1851" as Oceana Pond. A few years later this was modified to Ocean Pond on "A topographic Map of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1856." Stoney Cove at Rust's Island very possibly got its name as the result of a typographical error. On the "Map of the Towns of Gloucester and Rockport, 1851," this was given as Story Cove, but on "A Topographic Map of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1856, it is labelled Stoney Cove. In the "Gloucester and Rockport Directory for 1870-71," and on an old, undated map, the present Bond Street is recorded as Apple Row, which is still used by some people today. The same map labelled Cherry Street as Fox Hill, while the directory of 1877 lists Marsh Street as Wolf Hill Road. Rose Bank has been corrupted into Rowe's Square. All in all, however, such changes have not resulted in the loss of any significant number of names bearing on natural features, as many changes merely substituted other names of similar origin, and the gains on one hand about equal the losses on the other.

In contrast to this situation, however, some names based on the local environment have been lost through disuse. Some which have been noted are as follows. Gravel Hill shown in "Map of Riverdale, Gloucester, Massachusetts, as of 1741"; Clam Rock off Duncan Point shown on Mason's "Plan of Gloucester Harbor 1834-35"; Raccoon Rock in Rockport and Sand Hill at Wingaersheek Beach found on "Map of Towns of Gloucester and Rockport, Essex County, Massachusetts, 1851"; and Oceana Bluff and Duck Rocks at Pigeon Cove used on an undated "Map of Ocean View, Pigeon Cove, Massachusetts" do not

appear on recent maps and apparently are not in current use. A number of street names reflecting the natural region which are listed in early directories but not in present use are as follows: In Rockport—Bay View (1870-71), Atlantic View, Bay Avenue, Harbor Avenue, Water, Mt. Holly Avenue and Walnut Avenue (1873); in Gloucester—Strawberry Bank (date ?), Cove Road (1875), Cove Pond (1879), Ferndale (1880), and Lobster Lane (1903), the latter in the village of Magnolia.

One case of inconsistent spelling has come to light which apparently has caused confusion in many parts of the world where the same name has been applied. This is the spelling of bivalve mollusks known as mussels. The problem has been discussed by the writer (Dexter, 1952) as it pertains to the rapids in the Tennessee River now generally known as Muscle Shoals. The older maps of Cape Ann used the spelling Muscle Point or Muscle Rocks for a headland on the southwestern shores of the Cape at the edge of Gloucester Harbor. It appears that way on the following maps: "Map of Gloucester, Cape Ann, by John Mason, 1831"; "Map of Towns of Gloucester and Rockport, Essex County, Massachusetts, 1851"; "A Topographic Map of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1856"; "Gloucester Sheet, Massachusetts, U. S. G. Survey, 1886"; "Map of Gloucester and Rockport in the Gloucester Directory 1886-87"; and the "U. S. C. and G. S. map Ipswich Bay to Gloucester Harbor, 1920." "A Geographic Dictionary of Massachusetts" by Henry Gannett (1894) also used the spelling Muscle Point, but refers to a similar headland at Barnstable Harbor on Cape Cod as Mussel Point. The roadway to the headland on Cape Ann first appeared in the Gloucester Directory for 1925 with the spelling "Mussel Point Road." This spelling has remained to date in the directories. The Lucas "Indexed Map of Gloucester and Rockport, Massachusetts, 1935" uses the spelling "Mussel" for both the point and the roadway. Since this is the preferred spelling in reference to bivalve mollusks, it should replace the older form.



## CONCLUSIONS

Place names at Cape Ann, Massachusetts, have been drawn from features of the natural environment to a considerable extent. Out of a total of 124 geographic names in current use, 38 percent were derived from that source. Animals, plants, and physical features have contributed about equally to the naming of places, but marine life has not inspired as many names as might be expected in a coastal area where the main industry has centered around marine resources. Only six names come from that source.

Street names from 1860 to 1948-49 have contained about 19 percent that reflect the natural environment. Again those having their origin from marine life are few in number (4), but considering all marine connotation, 33 out of a total of 633 street names in use in 1949 came from that source. Plant names have been used far more often than animal names, and those suggested by physical features have been used most often.

Two street names do not reflect the local environment (Palmetto, Alpine) and hence are inappropriate. A number of former names based on natural features have been replaced, but the total has not been significantly changed. Several place names and street names based on environmental features have become obsolete or have disappeared from current use in the course of a century.

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## JONATHAN LAMBERT OF SALEM THE YANKEE WHO WOULD BE KING

By HERBERT M. BRATTER

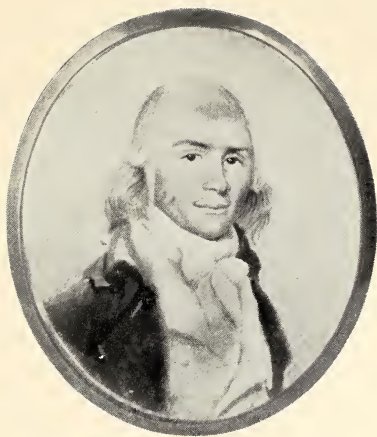
In the portrait collection of the Essex Institute, industrious historical society of Salem, Massachusetts, one may see the oval miniatures of two brothers, Jonathan and Samuel Lambert, scions of one of the town's colonial seafaring families. Just when these miniatures were made, whether they were painted from life in each case, who the artist was,—these questions we cannot answer.

Against a pale grey background on a bit of ivory 2½ inches long we see Jonathan nearly half length, facing front. He is perhaps 30 or 35, clean-shaven and wearing a grey wig, white stock, blue scarf, white double-breasted waistcoat and blue coat. Beneath the wig, brown brows and interested eyes are the dominating features. The nose is straight, the homely mouth just a bit large for the pointed chin. The whole face carries an expression of serious curiosity and intelligence.

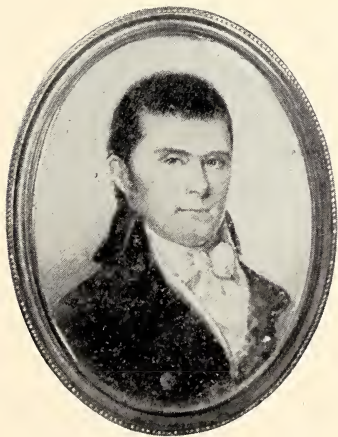
This might be the likeness of almost any young gentleman of the late 18th or early 19th century. Who would guess it to be the self-made king of the "Islands of Refreshments," 2,000 miles from civilization?

Jonathan Lambert's is the story of a determined Yankee who almost singlehanded set up a realm on a lonely ocean island,—to become the monarch of all he surveyed. Many of the details of the strange episode long have been lost to history, but facts enough remain to enable us to piece together the incredible and dramatic story of a failure who began life afresh in a paradise of his own picking, only to encounter disappointment and death. The odd flag he designed for his chill kingdom now reposes in the musty museum of a London records office, while over his quondam demesne there floats the union jack of His Britannic Majesty.

NOTE. This article appeared in "The Circumnavigators Club" publication "The Log," in 1950. The club is a private organization, composed of members who have circumnavigated the globe, as its name implies. Published by permission of the Club.



JONATHAN LAMBERT  
1772 - 1813



SAMUEL LAMBERT  
1769 - 1832

From miniatures presented to the Essex Institute by the Salem Marine Society





Jonathan Lambert was born in Salem in February 1772. His father, a prominent sea captain, was one of the founders and Member No. 1 of the Salem East-India Marine Society. The family lived on Court Street in comfortable circumstances, for upon the elder Lambert's death in 1804 his house was valued at \$4,300. From his father, Jonathan received a bequest of \$200.

Young Jonathan early went to sea, travelling to India around the Cape of Good Hope at a time when sailing the oceans still was an adventure; and as a youth of 20 and crew member of the 540-ton *Grand Turk* he first sighted the islands which were destined to determine his fate. By 1795 young Lambert was master of his father's schooner *Ruth*. His prospects were good. He married a Salem girl named Mary Lee.

But for the young captain things did not go as well as expected. Troubles which beset him were compounded by the duplicity of some of his countrymen. Whereas other Salemites under like circumstances often sought a new start in Western Massachusetts, New York or the settlements of Ohio, Lambert had a far bolder idea. Leaving his childless wife to be supported by the town, Jonathan set out to claim and develop a tiny spot on the map which hardly anyone had heard of, the remote and uninhabited South Atlantic island called by its Portuguese discoverers Tristan de Cunha. Imagine his family's forebodings when they learned of his fantastic intentions.

Jonathan was not long running into trouble, thanks to his distant Norman forebear. With seven other passengers on board the Boston ship *Baltic* he reached Rio de Janeiro on November 6, 1810. At that time Brazil belonged to Portugal and Rio was the temporary capital, the residence of the royal family, who had fled there when Napoleon's troops invaded Portugal. When the Portuguese officials boarded the newly-arrived ship they suspected its passengers of being French agents. Receiving inadequate assurance from the captain, Lovell, the authorities seized the ship, put Lovell under heavy guard, and took all eight passengers off to jail.

Next morning Thomas Sumter, Jr., American "Minis-

ter at the Court of the Prince Regent of Portugal in Brazil," was summoned to town on the matter. His efforts, eventually successful, to get the passengers released are described in the handwritten report which he sent to the Secretary of State in Washington a few days later. Still carefully preserved with it in the National Archives in Washington is a stained and aging paper bearing the Portuguese foreign minister's explanation of the arrest. From this document we learn that it was Lambert's ancestral French name, brought to England with the invasion of William the Conqueror, that had aroused the suspicion of the Portuguese port officials.

But Lambert was soon properly identified. Reported Sumter: "The person who bears the name of Lambert is known here to be an American captain." Later, in reporting the release of the eight prisoners after five days' incarceration, Sumter concluded: "Some of our people are perhaps imprudent and some of the Portuguese officers. also.—The minister [of foreign affairs] has promised that the latter shall be questioned on the subject." Sumter's report is quoted here because of fantastic tales later and even currently circulated in Tristan de Cunha, to the effect that Lambert was a pirate and a fugitive from justice.

Sumter, a South Carolinian whose father had founded Stateburg, had had considerable experience in diplomatic affairs. In Paris under Robert Livingston he had served as secretary of legation and in London had been private secretary to James Munroe. As Minister to the Portuguese Government, Sumter had arrived in Rio in June 1810, after an 85-day voyage from New York.

In Lambert's project Sumter must have seen something worth encouraging, even if he gave Lambert no more concrete help than a supply of seeds. But Sumter was hardly in a frame of mind to give Lambert his full attention, being then preoccupied with vexing charges brought against the minister by one of his consular subordinates.

During the weeks Lambert spent in Rio equipping himself and waiting for the *Baltic* to sail, word of his enterprise got around. One of those who learned of it was

Benjamin F. Seaver, master of the British merchant vessel *Charles*. Seaver sought out Lambert on board the *Baltic*, became interested in Lambert's intention to make of Tristan a place of refreshment for passing ships, and with Lambert discussed ways to help him and perhaps subsequently join him on the island.

Early in January 1811 Captain Lovell hove the *Baltic* to off bleak Tristan da Cunha's principal island. The small ship's boat was rowed to the distant beach, carrying with their belongings the trio who intended to build here a settlement. Lambert, leader of the tiny colony, was then nearing his 39th birthday. With him were a man named Williams, who apparently preferred to go down in history as "Andrew Millet," and Tomaso Corri, who from his name we may suppose to have been an Italian, although subsequent British accounts anglicize his name to "Thomas Currie." Deposited ashore, the Lambert party constituted the sole population of Tristan.

Swept at times by fierce Antarctic gales, their new home, almost halfway between Brazil and the Cape of Good Hope, consisted of four small islands and a few minuscule rocks which ships sometimes passed but where they almost never paused. Lambert's idea was to cultivate the main island's fertile soil and make of it a sort of culinary filling station to which would repair for fresh food and water passing whalers and sailing ships of all kinds plying the ocean between the Northern Hemisphere and India. This was the place Lambert wanted for his very own, to make for himself and family a home and a living.

The settlers at once built an improvised hut and cleared a garden in the volcanic soil. When, three weeks later, the friendly Captain Seaver stopped by en route to Cape Town, the first crops of vegetables were already showing their heads above the ground. But much was needed if Tristan was to realize Lambert's fond hope. Pausing only briefly at Tristan, the *Charles* proceeded to Africa, where on March 1, 1811, Seaver on behalf of Lambert and himself wrote to the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, Earl Caledon, asking the British Government and

the gentlemen of the East India Company to lend a helping hand to Lambert. In sympathetic terms the letter described Lambert's plans for helping ocean ships through the development of Tristan and described what Seaver himself had seen on the island only three weeks after Lambert's arrival there: two acres cleared and radish and cabbage plants already growing in great luxuriance; while Indian corn, potatoes and pumpkins were also started.

If the requested British protection and assistance were forthcoming, Seaver wrote the Governor, Lambert was willing most solemnly to declare himself allied to that Government and promised, by permission to display the British flag; only reserving to himself the governorship of Tristan. In particular, Lambert wanted a small vessel to bring colonists and livestock to Tristan from the Cape.

Seaver told the Governor that he also desired to share in Tristan's development, for in this letter he solicited:

small assistance to return to the island, as my private means will not be sufficient. A small vessel from 50 to 100 tons to carry from this colony such young, industrious families as may be willing to embark, and any other persons that would be useful in tilling the ground, with a few black cattle, goats and sheep, and such other small necessities as would conduce to the growth and productions of the island.

All this was in 1811. Had the British then foreseen the War of 1812, they might have been stirred to action by the foregoing petition and Lambert's history might have been different. But they did not.

Nor did the three settlers foresee the war, which was to bring naval vessels to Tristan, to "refresh" themselves without so much as a thank you. But that was later.

The ship carrying Lambert's emissary to His Lordship at Cape Town was scarcely out of sight when Lambert started drafting his announcement of annexation. Lambert's proclamation is dated February 4, 1811, six days after Seaver's visit. It was nearly six months before the proclamation found its way to Massachusetts through the kindness of Captain Lovell, who had stopped at Tristan again on his homeward journey.

And it was still later when the text reached the watch-



ful eye of England's irrepressible publicist, William Cobbett, then in Newgate State Prison whence, through the next issue of Cobbett's famous weekly, the strange intelligence was given the British world.

Here in full, with its accompanying notes, is the text of King Lambert's proclamation, surely the composition of no ordinary seaman:

Know all men by these presents that I, Jonathan Lambert, late of Salem, in the State of Massachusetts, United States of America, mariner, and citizen thereof, have this 4th day of February, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and eleven, taken absolute possession of the islands of Tristan [sic] de Cunha, so called, viz.: the great island, and the other two known by the name of Inaccessible and Nightingale islands: solely for myself and my heirs for ever: with the right of conveying the whole, or any part thereof, to one or more persons, by deed or sale, free gift, or otherwise, as I or they (my heirs) may hereafter think fitter or proper. And as no European, or other power whatever, has hitherto publicly claimed the said islands by right of discovery, or act of possession, therefore be it known to all nations, tongues, and languages, that from and after the date of this public instrument, I constitute my individual self the sole proprietor of the above-mentioned islands, grounding my right and claim on the rational and sure principles of absolute occupancy, and as such, holding and possessing all the rights, titles and immunities properly belonging to proprietors by the usage of nations.

In consequence of this right and title by me thus assumed and established, I do further declare, that the said islands shall for the future be denominated the islands of Refreshments, the great island bearing that name in particular, and the landing place on the north side, a little to the east of the Cascade, to be called Reception, and which shall be the place of my residence. The isle formerly called Inaccessible shall henceforward be called Pintard Island, and that known by the name of Nightingale Island, shall now be called Lovell Island.—And I do further declare, that the cause of the said act set forth in this instrument, originated in the desire and determination of preparing for myself and family a home where I can enjoy life without the embarrassments which have hitherto constantly attended me, and procure for us an interest and property, by means of which a competency may

be ever secured, and remain, if possible, far removed beyond the reach of chicanery and ordinary misfortune. For the above purpose I intend paying the strictest attention to husbandry, presuming when it is known in the world that refreshments may be obtained at my residence, all vessels of whatever description, and belonging to whatever nation, will visit me for that purpose, and by a fair and open traffic, supply themselves with those articles of which they may be in need. And I do hereby invite all those who may want refreshments to call at Reception, where by laying by opposite to the Cascade, they will be immediately visited by a boat from the shore, and speedily supplied with such things as the Islands may produce, at a reasonable price. And be it further known, that by virtue of the aforesaid right, and authority above mentioned, I have adopted a flag<sup>1</sup> which shall forever be the known and acknowledged standard flag of these islands. And that a white flag shall be known, and considered as the common flag, for any vessel or vessels in the merchants service, which may now, or hereafter, belong to any inhabitants of these islands.—And lastly, be it known, that I hold myself and my people, to be bound on the principles of hospitality and good fellowship and the laws of nations (if any there are) as established by the best writers on that subject, and by no other law whatever, until time may produce particular contracts or other engagements.

J. LAMBERT

Witness to this signature,

ANDREW MILLET

In presenting this proclamation to its readers the Boston Gazette introduced it with this editorial note:

1 This flag is formed of five diamonds, transversely from corner to corner, and four half diamonds, placed on the center of the top, bottom and both sides. The two upper and two lower diamonds are blue next the staff or halyard, and red on the uppermost side; the centre [sic] white, the four half diamonds bear the letter W.

Note.—Captain Lovell observes, that having left the above mentioned Jonathan Lambert, accompanied by two persons from Rio de Janeiro, on Trista [sic] de Cunha Island about the 1st of January, he proceeded on his voyage, and on his return to the island, after the space of 34 days, Mr. Lambert had cleared about fifty acres of land, and planted various kinds of seeds, some of which, as well as the coffee tree and sugar cane, were furnished him by the American minister at Rio de Janeiro. The above seeds had sprung up, and looked very promising.

The following communication was handed us by a gentleman who is witness to the facts therein stated, and who thinks, notwithstanding the appearance of eccentricity which the narrative gives, that Mr. Lambert and his associates will found an important and highly valuable settlement.

It is unlikely that Lovell's interest in the "Islands of Refreshments" was any the less by virtue of the fact that Lambert had renamed one of them after the captain.

What was life like on King Lambert's Islands of Refreshments? A description has come down to us in the New England skipper's own words: a letter Lambert addressed from Tristan on December 21, 1811,—when he had been there almost a year,—to a Captain John Briggs. The dateline, strangely, gives the address as Tristan da Cunha, ignoring the new name for the island proclaimed by Lambert himself in February.

In effect, Lambert's letter to Briggs constitutes the monarch's "first annual report" as well as what the Securities and Exchange Commission today would term a "prospectus." It is full of interesting details.

"It never freezes, nor is there heat enough for ripening melons," wrote Lambert. There was much wind, and in the winter and spring, rain; so life was not too comfortable in the colonists' "sorry Jackstraw's hut, thatched with coarse grass, without floor, etc."

But at other times the trio had weeks of fine weather. Lambert and his fellows raised various vegetables and a small flock of geese. He also had "dunghill fowls" and ten ducks, but had lost "all my turkeys, Muscovy ducks, and all of the English ducks, except three, by their eating fish guts last winter."

Most interesting of Lambert's neighbors were the sea elephants, which frequented two ponds. "Here I have eight sows and four boars, quite tame—all of which, save five, we have caught on the island, of which there are many more: some we have shot and some knocked down, etc." These porkers were the descendants of stock left on Tristan by earlier settlers.

The hogs could live on a vegetable diet, Lambert reported, "but I give them an elephant once in ten or fifteen

days to keep them in heart." Sea elephant was also the diet of Lambert and his friends, who in addition were able to shoot wild goats, of which at the time of the letter there were still left about twelve or sixteen; and "the little black cock in great numbers and, in the fall, very fat and delicious."

With the aid of a dog the modern Crusoes were able to kill several hundreds of these succulent birds; and the mountains were covered with albatross, "mollahs," petrels, sea-hens, etc. "And a great deal of feathers might be had, if people were to attend to it," Lambert wrote.

The sea of course was "well furnished" with fish, which "are had at any time for the trouble of taking them, whenever the sea is smooth enough to fish from the rocks. We have no boat, and of course cannot have them so often as we want them; but on a kind of raft of six pieces we push off on a smooth time and take many sheephead crayfish, gramper and large mackerel." When fishing from the rocks King Lambert and his subjects made use of sea-elephant meat to attract the fish. "A boat would be vic-tuals and drink to us," His Tristannic Majesty wistfully wrote.

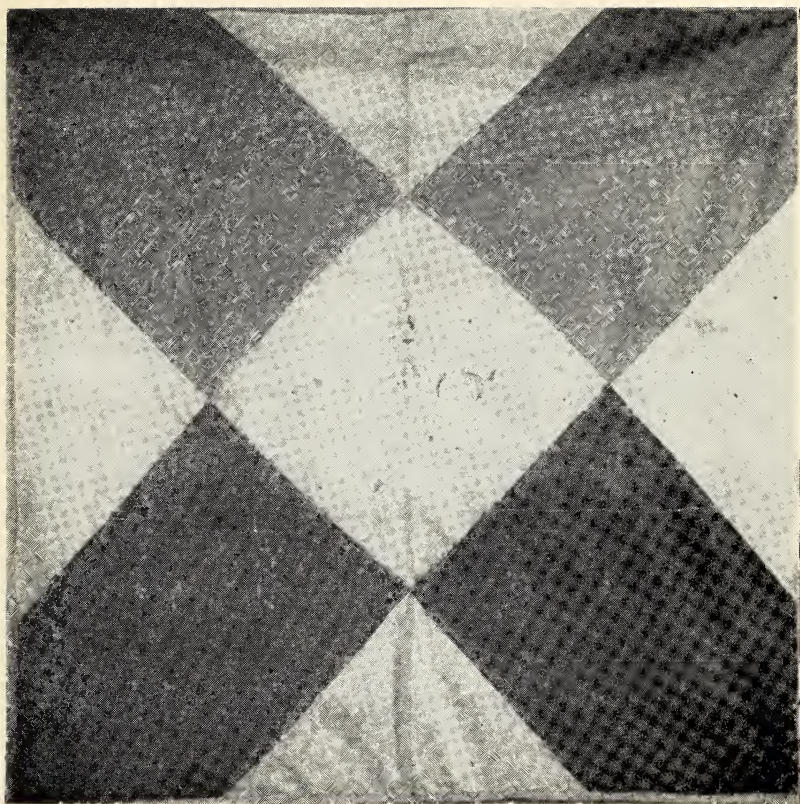
Having killed about eighty sea elephants in the first year on Tristan, the settlers had accumulated about 1,000 gallons of oil, hoping to use the proceeds thereof to buy a boat. Thereafter Lambert planned to make a business of this activity. To Captain Briggs, Lambert therefore submitted the proposition "to join me in the business of making oil and skins on these islands."

He proposed that the captain buy a small fishing schooner of about 50 tons, such as could be had at Cape Cod in the spring or late fall for \$500, "and if you wish to give your brother Jonson employment for a year or two, send him here in her, with ten or twelve men."

Lambert also suggested "two or three of those kind of boats called at Cape Cod half-boats—a kind of whale boat which cost about \$25 there, with provision enough for twelve months."

To store the oil Lambert suggested making a stone cistern. Salt, too, he wanted; and "two or three asses





#### THE FLAG

The flag of Tristan d'Acunha, published with permission of the British Public Research Office  
and obtained by the author through the kind offices of Dr. Paul Einzig of London



to carry blubber and skins from a distance . . . two boilers of iron, holding from 60 to 90 gallons each," and other paraphernalia such as knives, ladles, barrels, etc. All this in due time would be paid for with the oil and skins. The sea-elephant pup skins were "very fine and pretty, and would, no doubt, average a dollar each."

Tristan's penurious monarch went into considerably more detail in describing the attractiveness of the prospective enterprise. "If the proposal should be relished, I should like to be jointly concerned in it, but, as I have no money to advance, I could only, at the first, lend my assistance towards completing the business, while it would be your part to furnish the means to get it once *under way*."

Towards the end of his letter Lambert wrote: "Should any vessel be bound to the Cape, or round it, do drop me a line to inform me of the receipt of this if it comes to hand."

Captain Briggs had helped the colonists at the outset, for Lambert's letter thus acknowledged aid: "We have not ate bread these six months; that parcel you supplied me with lasted about that time. But turnips have been bread to us. I hope to have as many potatoes in three or four months as will always stand by us while we remain on the island; but cloth I shall want, and must depend upon vessels for a supply of them."

Between the writing of the above letter and Lambert's death a year or two later the population of the island increased by from one to three persons. Details are lacking. And just when and how Lambert died is far from clear in the conflicting accounts which have come down to us; but it seems generally agreed that he met his death by drowning while out in a small boat and that there perished with him all but one of the colony's inhabitants. Thomas Currie was the sole survivor.

Currie in turn was later joined by one or more others. During the War of 1812, Tristan da Cunha was used as a base by American men of war and privateers. Those visits proved costly to Currie.

In March 1813, Currie accepted a British flag from

*H.M.S. Semiramis*, thinking that it might come in handy. The British doubtless had other ends in view.

In May 1815, Commander Peter Gordon of the *Bengal Merchant* wrote the Colonial Secretary and Registrar at the Cape of Good Hope, concerning Tristan da Cunha, that the Americans and Portuguese "have claims (excepting actual possession) equal to our own." Concerning Currie, Gordon reported: "He always expressed himself contented with his situation in every respect except one, which was the want of a female companion . . ."

Napoleon arrived on St. Helena as a prisoner in October, 1815. The following year it was decided to send a British force to occupy Tristan da Cunha so to forestall its possible use by the French as a base for a liberation attempt. The British force arrived at Tristan in August 1816 in the frigate *Falmouth*. Its arrival was a major turning point in the island's history.

To the British authorities the long lonely Currie now unburdened himself. "I came under an agreement [with Lambert] to remain one year, and to have a passage found me to the Cape of Good Hope, in case I should not wish to remain on the island," he said. "My agreement was twelve Spanish dollars per month, besides the one third of twenty percent on all produce during the time I might remain." However, Currie continued, Lambert and two other Americans "under pretense of fishing and collecting wreckage" on May 17, 1812, took the boat and left the island.. "took possession of the three islands . . . in a formal manner." He complained that he, Currie, had suffered greatly for want of clothing and provisions and had been constantly robbed of livestock and produce by American warships and merchantmen, who visiting Tristan, stole.

With Currie in 1816 was one other man, a native of Minorca, whom Currie called his apprentice.

Although Currie had been robbed, he still had 40 breeding sows and two boars, but "no sows or ducks left," the last having been taken by American privateers, so the British reported to London.

The Rev. Dr. William Bentley, pastor of the East



Church, who knew Lambert in Salem, in his diary gives an interesting description of the then deceased mariner. An entry for September 11, 1814, states: "This is the bold adventurer that seized upon an Island in the Great Ocean & collected a few companions to inhabit it; & gave notice that he should supply all circumnavigators. He perished when fishing in his boat with some of his Companions. He was a man of real genius & intrepidity. Nothing common would satisfy him & he had acquired all that general knowledge which observation in Men & manners could supply. He had a ready tongue & good pen, an enquiring mind & a power to know & Possess what circumstances could give him, at the instant they appeared. I knew him intimately well."

Various earlier entries in Bentley's diary show that he knew other members of the Lambert family quite well, too, especially Jonathan's brother, Captain Samuel Lambert. On November 14, 1813, the pastor wrote: "The [Lambert] family has one son settled on Islands in the South Sea in a very excentric [sic] manner. The whole are endowed with talents. Capt. L. [Samuel] is an able teacher of mathematics."

And a still earlier diary entry of February 10, 1812, shows that Jonathan's home town had followed his adventure with interest; for Dr. Bentley, referring to friends who had migrated to "interior settlements," mentioned "our late Mr. Lambert to the Islands of the Ocean. Why not."

Nine days after Dr. Bentley offered prayers for the soul of the late Jonathan Lambert there appeared in the Salem Gazette of September 20, 1814, in small print among the death notices, the following inconspicuous item:

Mr. Jonathan Lambert of this town, well known as the intelligent and enterprising adventurer who effected a settlement on the island of Tristan d'Acunha. He was passing from his settlement to Nightingale island, in January last, in a boat with four others, when the boat was upset by a sudden squall, and all on board were drowned, by which unfortunate accident only one man was left on the island. Mr. Lambert was a man of real genius, and had, according to

accounts, been successful in bringing forward his little colony, which in times of peace and commerce promised to be of general benefit.

Mary Lambert, unknowing widow, did not long survive her wandering husband. In 1814 she died intestate. An inventory of her estate prepared at Marblehead showed to her credit two-thirds of an old dwelling and "four poles of land;" against which were "town of Salem's demands, \$417."

Thus ended the dynasty of the yankee king of the Islands of Refreshment. The books were closed. Gradually, the people who had known Jonathan also passed away and his memory faded. But somewhere in Salem there were other Lamberts who treasured their ancestry and who kept such heirlooms as little ivory miniatures. So Jonathan Lambert is not quite forgotten. His portrait is preserved; his memory resurrected.

## NEWLY LOCATED HAWTHORNE LETTERS

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By RALPH M. ADERMAN  
Wisconsin State College, Milwaukee

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Three hitherto unnoticed letters and a note written by Nathaniel Hawthorne while he was United States Consul at Liverpool provide further evidence that he was not a recluse devoted only to his official duties. These manuscripts, now a part of the Gaskell Collection of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, England, reveal Hawthorne's personal warmth and friendliness.

U. S. Consulate,<sup>1</sup>  
Brunswick Street. Jan 23<sup>d</sup>2

My dear Mr. Bright,<sup>3</sup>

I believe I must say "no" to your kind invitation, both on Mrs. Hawthorne's behalf and my own. Her father died, the first day of the new year, and we have just received news of it.

Mrs [*sic*] Hawthorne replied to Miss Yates' invitation to the meeting of the club, some days ago.

Very sincerely yours,  
Nath<sup>l</sup> Hawthorne.

<sup>1</sup> Eng. Ms. 732 (69).

<sup>2</sup> The year of this letter is 1855. Dr. Nathaniel Peabody, Mrs. Hawthorne's father, who is alluded to in the letter, died at Eagleswood, New Jersey, on January 1, 1855. See S. H. Peabody, *Peabody (Paybody, Pabody, Pabodie) Genealogy* (Boston, 1909), p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Arthur Bright (1830-1884), a young Liverpool merchant interested in literature, became one of Hawthorne's closest English friends and frequently traveled with him in England. They discussed many problems relating to Anglo-American relations and worked with Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton, on the problem of American and British legislation to prevent cruelty to sailors. For a good characterization of Bright, see Edward Mather, *Nathaniel Hawthorne, A Modest Man* (New York, 1940), pp. 256-258.

Brunswick Street, Nov 2<sup>d</sup>

My dear Sir:

Do you know anybody who would like an engagement to write a weekly letter for an American newspaper, giving a general view of political affairs and the state of the market? If so, I am authorized to offer him the magnificent 'honorarium' (this is a word which Bentley, the London publisher, used in a letter to me) of four dollars for each 1640 words—that is, about a penny for eight or ten words. The business may be worth forty to fifty pounds per annum to a smart and ready writer. I should really like to know about this. I return you some books of your own, and likewise send a book belonging to the club—not knowing how to forward it to Mr [sic] Smith.

Very truly yours  
Nath<sup>l</sup> Hawthorne.

Liverpool, Octr 16<sup>th</sup> '55<sup>5</sup>

My dear Mrs. Warren,<sup>6</sup>

I send you a little book which I hope your children may take pleasure in reading, some day or other.

I think it best to return the bottle of <sup>7</sup> wine, as I may not have an opportunity of conveying it to Mrs. Hawthorne.<sup>8</sup>

With many thanks,  
Sincerely yours,  
Nath<sup>l</sup> Hawthorne.

4 Eng. Ms. 732 (70). The letter is addressed to "H. A. Bright, Esq., (Messrs. Gibbs, Bright, & Co.) North John Street, Liverpool." Probably this letter was written in 1855. By this time Bright and Hawthorne were well acquainted, and Hawthorne would have no qualms about asking his friend for a suggestion.

5 Eng. Ms. 377 (898).

6 Probably Mrs. Samuel Warren, the wife of the author of the popular novel, *Ten Thousand a Year* (1839). The two men met at a dinner in Liverpool on March 24, 1854; and on April 7, 1854, Warren wrote to Hawthorne from London. Hawthorne saw Warren again in a Liverpool courtroom on March 27, 1855. See *The English Notebooks*, edited by Randall Stewart (New York, 1941), pp. 55-57, 105; Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife*, (Boston, 1884), II, pp. 43-44.

7 A word is illegible here.

8 Mrs. Hawthorne and her two daughters left for Lisbon,



A notation on the back of a letter from James Buchanan, the United States Ambassador in London, indicates that Hawthorne's official duties often extended beyond the consular office. In this instance he had to investigate the reasons for the long imprisonment of an American citizen in Liverpool.<sup>9</sup> The note reveals that Hawthorne carried out the task.

— Answered the within<sup>10</sup>—the man, by his own tricks, had been the cause of whatever delay had occurred, and had no mind to be sent home or brought to trial at all.

N. H.

— Portugal, from Southampton on October 8, 1855, in an effort to find a better climate for Mrs. Hawthorne, who was suffering from the cold, damp English atmosphere. See *The English Notebooks*, edited by Randall Stewart, p. 258.

9 Hawthorne frequently had to check up on Americans in difficulty with the English law. For many concrete examples, see L. S. Hall, *Hawthorne, Critic of Society* (New Haven, 1944).

10 Buchanan's letter sets forth the problem:

Legation of the United States.  
London 29 December 1855.

My dear Sir/

I have received a letter from Henry Norris Johnson, informing me that he has been waiting five months in prison in Liverpool to be sent to New York for trial. His case is a hard one & I commend it to your attention. It is against the humane policy of our laws not to grant the accused "a speedy trial."—I shall not write to him until I hear from you; but leave the matter entirely to yourself.

from your friend  
very respectfully  
James Buchanan

Nathl Hawthorne Esq.

LETTER CONCERNING FORT  
AT WINTER ISLAND

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To the Select Men of Salem

Salem June 4<sup>th</sup> 1709

Gentlemen

I have herewith sent you a copey of the Gen<sup>l</sup> court order referring to Her Maj<sup>ties</sup> Fort at Winter Island which is all that hitherto can be obtained in favor thereof after repeated & utmost aplication hath been made concerning ye same. I would also acquaint you with ye present stake & condition of ye said Fort, which is that more then one halfe of ye plattform—is rotten & unserviceable viz about ninety foot long & twenty five foot wide whereof having been made with old planke at ye first, & that ye dwelling housse is leaky, & that a part of ye wall at ye Southeast corner bulgeth out & is in danger of falling as also some other small things needfull to be repaired. These things I am under a sense should be amended & therefore thought it requisite to inform you of ye same it being yet a time of Warr & so consequently a time of danger that so if there might be any way or Meanes found for remedy whereof it may be seasonably aplied & that I myself might in this regard rightly discharge ye trust comitted to me with relation to ye said Fort & not be liable to blame for being silent & not giving Notice of ye before recited defections.

Your Ser<sup>t</sup> Stephen Sewall

— *Essex Institute Mss. Collections*

# HISTORY OF THE SOUTH CHURCH, PEABODY

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FORMERLY IN THE MIDDLE PRECINCT OF SALEM,  
LATER KNOWN AS THE SOUTH PARISH OF DANVERS

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By BESSIE RAYMOND BUXTON

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## SOUTH PARISH IN THE REVOLUTION

Although the Church Records do not speak of the early days of the Revolution nor of the Battle of Lexington, they were deeply involved in it. Early in January, 1775, the men began to drill, three times a week. Capt. Samuel Epes commanded one company of 58 Minute Men and Capt. Gideon Foster another of 26 men. The news of the battle reached the South Parish about 9 A.M. on April 19th. Drums were beaten and the church bell sounded the alarm. The men assembled at the Bell Tavern (where the Lexington monument now stands, at the corner of Main and Washington Streets) and the Rev. Mr. Holt gave them his parting benediction. They covered the 16 miles to Menotomy (now Arlington) over rough country in four hours, met the retreating British there, and fought fiercely. They marched home that night, bringing with them the bodies of seven of their comrades. Five of these men were from the South Parish: Samuel Cook, 33, George Southwick, 25, Henry Jacobs, 22, Ebenezer Goldthwaite, 22, and Benjamin Daland, 25. Their bodies laid for two days in the house of Henry Cook, Samuel's father, on Gap Lane. (65 Central Street. This house is still standing, having been moved to No. 10 Harris Street.) Henry Jacobs was buried on what is now the Colcord Farm on Lowell Street, just above Marble's Meadow. The other four were buried in Trask's Burying Ground. Perley Putnam, 21 and Jotham Webb, 22 were taken to their homes in present-day Danvers, for burial.

On the Friday after the battle, the gallery of the meetinghouse was filled with armed men and there were two companies from Salem in the body of the house. After the service, the soldiers with reversed arms and muffled

drums led the procession to Trask's Burying Ground (the Old Cemetery on Boston Street, at the Peabody-Salem line.) On the way they met soldiers from Newburyport, Salisbury and Amesbury on their way to the siege of Boston. These men formed single ranks on each side of the road and the procession passed between them. Three volleys were fired over the graves, which are just inside the gate on the right.

Dennison Wallis, also of the South Parish, was severely wounded, receiving 13 bullet wounds, yet he recovered and lived to a great old age. Joseph Bell, another South Parish man was taken prisoner by the British and sent to their prison ship where he remained for two months. Both these men were in Capt. Foster's company. Capt. Epes' company captured two wagonloads of British supplies near Medford, although they were guarded by eleven soldiers. During the Revolution 197 men from Danvers served in the Continental army and about half were from the South Parish. While Danvers was the most distant of all the towns which sent help, it lost more men than any town except Lexington.

At the July meeting the people were asked "to Consider the request of Capt. Wm. Shillaber and Samuel King for Liberty for sd. Shillaber to move his Pew about 27 inches forward which will accomodate the sd. Shillaber and sd. King both for Liberty to his Pew on Such Consideration as the Inha: shall think Proper also to See if the Inha: will do any thing respecting ye Bell this year?" Permission was granted to move the pews but nothing was done about the bell. April, 1772, is the first reference to investment of the parish funds, when it was voted "that ye money at present be Let out upon Interest upon good security for one year."

In March, 1773, the matter of building a steeple was again brought up and it was voted to build it by subscription at the west end of the meetinghouse. Apparently nothing was done, for the following March it was "Voted to Bild a Steaple at ye West Eand of ye Meating hous this year." In 1775 it was "Voted not to sell ye Rome that Leads up Into ye men's galery Voted that the parish



Bild a pew In that Rome & Rente it Oute for ye Youse of the Parish." This is the first mention of renting seats in the meetinghouse.

On March 12, 1776, it was voted that "William Pooles heirs & Sam'll Fowler have Liberty to take Earth from under the Meating house they making good all Damages." In the following June we find the first reference to the Revolutionary War which was then in progress. Heretofore the church warrants have begun "In His Majesties Name you are hereby Required to levy and collect" and closed with the phrase "In ye year of His Majesties Reign." The warrant of June 1776 begins—"Greating in ye Name of ye people" and the final sentence is omitted.

In March, 1777, the Clerk's salary was raised from the ten shillings it had been since 1760 to twelve shillings, and the treasurer's was reduced from eight to six shillings. It was voted to "choose a Comitey to Setel with The Steaple Comity to see that the Steaple is finished." In May, 1777, we find the first reference to the existing state of war. The inhabitants are asked "to See what method the Parish will take to Compute there Proportion of men to go into the Contenental Armeey Allso to see what Bountey the Parish will give to those that will Inlist into the Servis for thre yeare Allso to Raise money to Pay the Same." It was "Voted to give those men that have Inlisted Into the Continantal Armeey for three years & has not had any Bountey & those that Shall Inlist to Compleat this parishes Quota of men that they have a bountey. Voted that they Shall have twenty Pounds as a Bountey. Voted that all the money that has Been Paide By Indvidals By frins or Aney other way to hire men to go Into the Servis at Aney time & to Alow those that went & did a turne for them selves what it Coust to hire a man when thay went that it be essessed upon the Poels & Estates of the Inhabatants of this Parish." Two days later they met again and "Voted to Raise twelve hundred Pounds to defray the Charge that the Inhabatants of this Parish has Been at to Raise men Sence the 19th of aprell 1775 & to Pay a Bountey of twenty Pound pr man for what men is wanting to Compleat this Parishes quota of the

Contanantal Soldjers Exclusive of what the Inhabatants of this Parish Belonging to the Companey which Col. Jeremiah Page<sup>12</sup> formerly Commanded Shall be Taxed."

The next warrant, July, 1777, has another form: "Greeting in the name of the Government of the People of the State of the Massachusets Bay in New England." "August 23, 1777—Voted that this Parish will give a Bountey to Soetch [such] men as Shall Inlist Into the Servis ordered to be Rased the Ninth day of this August By a Resolve of the Grate General Cort of this State to Compleate the Quota this Parrish Is to get. Voted that twenty Pounds Be given to the above men that Shall Inlist as a bountey. Voted to Choose A Committey to hire the money & to Procure the men." They were reminded, however, "to get the men as Cheape as thay Can at the Expençe of the Parish as it is thought that the money here to fore voted by sd Parish is not Sufficient to hire sd men." The parish voted "to indemnify the offesers of the Companies from Aney fine that Shall be Liable to By not drafting the men on the 10 day of this month." In December they voted to raise 800 pounds in addition to what had already been voted "toward Carying on the war which we are Ingaged in Against the Inhabatants of Grate Britton."

An entry which reminds us of present-day income taxes is dated Dec. 26, 1777. "The Inhabitants of the South Parish of this Town are Requested to bring in a True and Perfict List of all their Estates both Real & Personal unto the Committee on Tuesday the 30th Instant at 9 of the Clock Beforenoon in Order that they may be assessed their just proportion of the Charge that hath arrisen to procure men to go into the Service either as Continantal Soldiers, or as Militia Men and for all persons to bring in an acc't of the money they have Paid as fines, or to procure men to go into the Service or that have gone themSelves and done turnes, that they may Recive orders for the Same which orders will be Recived as part of their Tax at the House of Mr. Eben:r Willis Inholder in this Town. It is Expected that Every Person will bring in

12 Owner of the Page House, North Danvers.

an acc't of what money he has paid, if he doth not he will loose the advantage of it.

Will'm Shillaber      John Epes      Benj:a Procter.

Committee to Assess this Tax."

The Collector's Warrant for Jan., 1778, uses a third new form of authority, the one which we still use. "Whereas the Freholders & other Inhabatants of the South Parish in Danvers did at a Meeting Legally assembled on the 18th day of June 1777, Voted that the Sum of twelve Hundred Pounds be raised for Defraying the Charge of procuring men that have gone or Shall go into the Service of THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, also at an other Meeting on the 20th day of December 1777 Voted that the sum of Eight Hundred Pounds be Raised in addition to the above Sum of Twelve hundred pounds for Defraying the Charge as above; We have assessed the Sums of £1200.00 & of £800 on the polls & Estates of sd parish, according to the Direction of the Law, And the List herewith Committed to you. Being the whole of Said Tax: these are therefore In the Name of the Government & people of the State of Massachusetts Bay to require you to Levy & Collect of the Several Persons Named in the List each one his proportion Sett against his Name." The rest of the warrant follows the usual form, with the exception of the final line—"Dated at Danvers Jan:y 6th in the year of our Lord 1778." Church salaries were raised this year, the new "Saxen" William Trask, receiving ten pounds, the treasurer fifteen shillings and the clerk twenty four shillings.

In March, 1778, it was voted to raise "foer hundred pounds to hire ye men that are wanting to macke up this parishes quota of Contanentel men & to Esses it upon the Inhabatants of sd parish Voted to allow those men that went to the hills as gard & tared untill there tiem was oute Nine pounds pr man." And on the 30th of March it was "Voted to give a Bountey of fiteene Pounds to those men that Shall go to Charlstowne hills for gards for this Parish."

On June 29, it was voted to dismiss "Peter Twist from

Serving Saxen and voted Sylvester Procter<sup>13</sup> be Saxen this year. Voted that this Parish hire ye men that are Colled for Oute of sd Parish to go to Providence. Voted that ye Committey get ye men as Cheape as they can."

On July 18th there was another call to raise men for guard duty at Winter-hill and eleven days later, still another for men to go to Providence and Winter-hill "as there is an immediate want for sd men."

In time of war, it is usual for prices to rise and money values to fall. The South Parish found this the case as the records prove. While the Parish collectors were still paid only the four pence per pound, as they had been for some years past, the clerk, in 1778 & 1779 was paid twenty four Shillings, and the treasurer, who had never been paid over 15 shillings and this only (in 1778) now was voted "three pounds for his service this year," and the sexton, Mr. Solomon Wyman, was voted twenty pounds for his yearly pay. These prices are probably accounted for by the fact that most of the able-bodied men were away at war. Mr. Holt's salary was in arrears, and the inhabitants were asked "what method they will adopt for making up the deficiency of the Six Hundred Pounds requested by the Rev.d Nathan Holt for his support for the year 1778. Also to see whether said Inhabitants will raise any money in addition to the Rev.d Nathan Holt's Salary for his Support for the year 1779, or for any part of the Said Year, and in what manner the said Money shall be raised."

At the following meeting, it was "Voted that the first Clause in the warrant be dismissed. Voted That there be a Committee chosen to go into the several parts of the Parish to see what money they can obtain by subscription for the Rev.d Nathan Holt for his support for the first three months of the present year." The warrant dated May 24, 1779 asks "what method said Inhabitants will take for compleating the Collection of Rev.d Mr. Holts' Salary for the last Year which yet remains unsettled. To receive the returns of the Committee appointed by the Parish at their last meeting for obtaining Subscriptions

<sup>13</sup> Sylvester Procter was the man for whom George Peabody, the London banker, worked as a youth.



for the Rev. Mr. Holt's support for three months of the present Year. To see whether the Parish, sensible of the inequality of the mode adopted at their last meeting, will raise money by a Tax for the Rev.d Mr. Holts' Support the Current Year, what Sum they will vote for said purpose & what Orders they will give for assessing, collecting & paying in the same." The members of the parish voted "That there be Money rais'd by a Tax for the Rev.d Mr. Holts' support the present year. Voted that the Sum of Twelve Hundred Pounds be assess'd on the Inhabitants for said purpose & that those Persons who subscribed for Mr. Holts' support the first three months of the present Year be allow'd Orders on the Parish Treasurer to the amount of their respective Subscriptions. The returns of the Committee were then call'd for when it appear'd that Nine of the Committee had met & laid out the Parish in Nine Wards."

The meeting of June 25th, 1779, was called "To see if said Inhabitants will appoint a Committee to hire money to procure the men that are call'd for to go into the public Service according to the resolves of the General Court of the 8th, 9th & 18th Inst. also to see if they will indemnify their Officers from any fine that they shall incur by reason of their not detaching the men agreeable to the said Resolves or to take any Order respecting the raising said Men." Three days later it was "Voted That a Committee of Three Men be chosen to hire the Men call'd for out of this Parish into the public Service. Accordingly Capt. Gideon Foster, Capt. Geo. Tucker and Mr. Benj.a Procter were separately chosen for sd. purpose. Voted That this Parish will indemnify the Militia Officers of the 3'd & 8th Companies from any fine they may be subject to by the late Resolves of the General Court. Voted That the above Committee have full power to procure the men as they think proper." After two adjournments without action the clerk records "The Parish did not meet & the Meeting dy'd, of Course." It was July 20th before they were able to get enough people together to conduct any parish business. Then they "Voted That there be a Sum of Money rais'd for paying off this

Parishes' Quota of the Men call'd for into the public Service by the late Resolves of the General Court of the 8th, 9th & 18th of June last. Voted That the Sum of Five Thousand, Five Hundred Pounds be assess'd on the Parish for the above purpose." Accordingly, John Southwick, Joseph Richardson and John Bushbee were appointed to collect the money. The meeting was adjourned to August 3rd, when it was voted to pay the collectors 180 pounds for collecting the £5500. A week later at an adjourned meeting it was voted to add ten pounds to the £180 previously voted to the collectors, and to excuse Joseph Richardson and John Southwick as collectors, and Ezekiel Marsh was appointed to the position. The next parish meeting was held Nov. 9th, and it was "Voted that there be a Sum of Money rais'd for defraying the Charges & Hire of this Parish's Quota of the three Month's Men, lately ordered by the General Court to Hudson's River. Voted That the Sum of £2500 be rais'd for the above purpose, that it be added to the £5500 voted to be rais'd on 20th July last & that it be assessed & collected by the same Persons as were appointed to assess & collect the Money then voted. Voted That the whole of said Grants of £5500. & £2500 be paid into the Treasury by 1st day of Feb'y next. Voted That those Persons who have advanced Money for the hire of the said Three Months Men have Orders from the Committee appointed for assessing the said Grants on the Treasurer for the Sums so advanced; the said Committee to judge of the reasonableness of the monies so expended & to deliver out their Orders accordingly. Voted That £30 be added to the wages of the Collectors of the said granted Sums for their additional trouble." This shows the difficulty of getting men to serve as collectors. The treasurer's account lists cash received from Billings Bradish, Dennison Wallis, Nathan Procter, Zachariah King and John Southwick, nine pounds each, fines for not serving as collectors. In April, 1780, the treasurer's accounts are kept in two values, Hard Money and Current Money; £32-9s-6d Hard Money equalling £416-16s-1d Current Money.

At the parish meeting on March 20, 1780, the use of

"Dollars" is noted for the first time since a single reference in 1752 to "dolors." It was "Voted to give the Clerk twenty four Dollars this year," but the Treasurer was given twelve Pounds and the Sexton—Daniel Reed—Sixty Pounds. It was "Voted that there be a Committee of three to confer with Mr. Holt on the Clauses respecting his Support. Voted that Mess.rs Abel Waters, Wm. Shillaber & Stephen Procter be the said Committee & that they report in fifteen minutes. Accordingly the above said Committee bro't in their report upon which Voted that a Suit of Cloaths [to consist of Coat, Jacket Breeches & Hat] be given the Rev.d Mr. Holt to make up the deficiency of the Sum voted for his support the last year. Voted that the Sum of Thirty five Hundred Pounds be given the Rev.d Mr. Holt for his support the present year including his stated Salary. Voted that Henry Gibbs make enquiry what Sum of Money will be necessary to to purchase the sd suit of Cloaths & report at the Adjournment. Voted that the Collectors settle with the Treasurer for one half of the Sum voted Mr. Holt by the last of June next & for the other half by the first day of January next."

Mr. Billings Bradish personally appeared on the 21st March 1780 and "declined serving as Collector the present Year & paid Nine Pounds for which He has the Clerk's receipt on acc.t his fine due for his said refusal, it not being known how the Law now stands with respect to the fines."

At the adjourned meeting on March 27th, the parishioners must have been astonished and a bit dismayed to find that Mr. Holt's new suit was to cost one thousand pounds! Nevertheless, they voted to raise the money for it and also to raise the sexton's pay twenty pounds.

On April 13, 1780, Zachariah King, declining to serve as collector paid a fine of 48 pounds. Major Samuel Epes and John Southwick 3rd, also declined to serve and paid their fine of 48 pounds. To end this difficulty it was voted to hire a collector, and Andrew Mansfield was elected and paid 120 pounds for his service.

The following October it was voted to add forty hun-

dred pounds to Mr. Holt's salary. In November it was voted to pay the Rev.d Mr. Holt's salary in gold or silver instead of the thirty-five hundred pounds voted in March last.

In November 1780, the warrant begins "Greeting—In the Name of the Commonwealth of the Massachusetts." In the spring of 1780 there was more difficulty in getting collectors, so Joseph Richardson was elected and paid \$25. The sexton was also paid in dollars, not in pounds as the clerk and treasurer were paid.

The warrant of May, 1781, also begins "In the Name of the Commonwealth of the Massachusetts" and the collectors were directed to collect the money for the minister's salary "in silver or gould or paper money at the current exchange when you shall receive the same."

In February 1783, it was "Voted to Grant unto the Rev.d Mr. Nathan Holt and his Heirs their right to Four pools on the front and the same wedth through to the North Side of the half achre of Land Granted by the Town of Salem to this Parish for the use of the ministry on that Side next to Mr. Jon Upton." In June it was voted to apply to the General Court for power to assess the tax for the minister's support on the pews in the lower part of the meetinghouse. This had been voted several times before and each time it was reconsidered, as it was this time. Again, it was difficult to get collectors. Name after name was voted upon, and the person refused to serve at the difficult task, preferring to pay the fine for their refusal instead. In 1761 when the parish began to pay the collectors, the amount voted was 4 d. on the pound, if the money was collected before a certain date. This price was continued until 1782 when it was raised to 6d. In 1786  $\frac{1}{4}$  was paid and in 1790  $\frac{1}{6}$ . Meetings were adjourned from week to week for two months or more. Finally it was voted to abate the taxes of the men who had served in Capt. Putnam's company, and with this change, John Endicott was induced to collect the rest of the war tax. The next year, the same difficulty was found, even the sexton refusing to serve.

At the April, 1784, meeting it was voted to grant to



the singers the front seats in the women's gallery for them to sit in during the parish's pleasure and to pay 6 dollars for fixing the seats for them. In the treasurer's accounts we find that the price of the Rev. Mr. Holt's "cloaths" has shrunk to 10 pounds, 17 shillings and 2d, a less alarming figure than the original one.

In the Warrant of Sept. 1778, the old phrase "to sell at an outcry" was changed to "sell at Publick Vendue." In this year, too, we find the first reference to a "Poll tax." The name of the Prudential Committee was dropped from the records during the war, and "the committee men" or "Parish Committee" are referred to instead. But in 1788 "a committee to manage the prudentials of the Parish" is mentioned.

The Warrant of 1787 lists the "goods or chattles" which may be sold at a "Publick Vendue" as "Tools or Implements necessary for his Trade or occupation, Beasts of the plough necessary for the Cultivation of his improved land, arms, utensils for house-keeping necessary for himself & family."

A curious phrase in the record of the meeting of 1788 is "Voted that the Committee be impowered to Cut a hole thro all orders that have or Shall be Rec'd of the Treasurer in past & future Settlements."

In 1789 it was voted to raise money for the support of the ministry by a tax on the pews. Also "to grant Mr. Haffield White Junr. Liberty to erect a Schoolhouse upon the Common land Near the Meeting house. Sd. Schoolhouse shall stand there during the parishes pleasure. The place where sd. School house shall Stand shall be under the directions of the parish Committee."

Much of the fourth volume is taken up with the treasurer's accounts, and the lists of taxpayers, which grew longer each year. A typical treasurer's statement is: "Danvers, 17th March 1788. This day Recconed with Capt. Jonathan Procter Parish Treasurer & There is due from him to the Parish as Treasurer the Sum of Five hundred & nineteen Pounds two Shillings & Seven Pence

—to ballance the foregoing acc't. Signed by order of the Committee.

James Porter, P. Clerk.

I consent to the above Settlement.

Jonathan Procter, Parish Treas'r

The amount of a State Note in the Treasurer's hands baring date April 1st 1783 of £12-6-5 which is not included in the above Settlement."

The warrant of April, 1789, asks "if it be the minds of the Parish to Sell the Room where the Mens and Womans Seats are in the Meeting house or any Part of them or to Build Pews where sd Seats are and to Lay out the Money theay shall fetch on the Meeting house." The Parish voted at the meeting a week later "to build two pues in the back where the womans Seets now are on the Flower of the meeting house and to Lay the money out in Shingling the Roofe of the four side of the Meating house." The next year on March 22nd, 1790, the following document was copied in the church record:

Know all men by Theese Presents That we Caleb Lowe Esq. Sylvester Procter Cordwainer and Sam'll Symonds Trader all of Danvers in the County of Essex & Commonwealth of Massachusetts being a Committee apointed by a late vote of the South Parish in Danvers to build Three pues & Sell them for repairing the Meetinghouse in sd. Parish in Consideration of Seven pounds Sixteen Shillings paid by Zachariah King yeoman of the above sd. Town & County The receipt whereof we the above sd. Committee do hereby acknowledge have bargain'd and Sold to the above Zackariah King one pew in the above sd. Meeting House sd. pew is bounded one end upon the allay, back side on Wido Sarah Tucker and Ezekiel Marsh sd. pues the other end on Daniel Jacobs pew, fore Side on Wido Lydia Tucker pew to have and to hold the sd. pew unto the sd. Zackeriah King his heirs or assigns and we the sd. Committee in our sd. Capacity will defend the sd. pew against The Lawfull Names of any Persons whatever in writing whereof we the Sd. Committee have put our hands and Seals This twenty

first Day of September in the year one Thousand Seven  
Hundred and Eighty nine.

Signd Seald and Delivered

In Presence of us

David Foster

Sylvanus Burrell

Sylvester Proctor

Caleb Low

Sam'l Symonds.

Copey at Sam'l Epes, P. Clerk. March 22nd, 1790

In April, 1790, it was voted "to Claboard the Fore Sid of the Meeting House." It was still difficult to induce any one to act as collectors, and equally difficult to get the former collectors to do their sworn duty. In June, 1790, the parish voted to give the treasurer "Directions to Essue Executions against Sum of the back Collectors. Voted that the Treasurer Send his Execution to Collector John Endicott for the Sum Due to the Parish on the foot of his List as Soon as may be." In November of this year a committee was "Empowered to Settle with Mr. Endicott in any way and manner theay Shall think best between him and the sd. Endicott." This matter had been a troublesome one since 1783. In March, 1788, the church warrant asked "if the Parish will Consent to Refer the matter Respecting Colector John Endicotts Stock being taken by Execution, whether sd. Endicott Shall receive anything for damages or not." But the parish voted "to pass over the Clause Respecting Collector John Endicotts Stock being taken."

On June 14th, 1790, the parish voted "to Lease a part of the Land on the North Side of the Meeting House to the Proprietors of the duck manufacture<sup>14</sup> in Salem. Voted to Choose a Committee of Three Persons who are hereby Impowered to Lease Sd. Land for Such a Consideration and for Such a turn of time as the sd. Committee Shall agree not Exceeding Seven years."

Rev. William Bentley says, in his diary, under date of August 2, 1792:

News this morning of the death of Rev. Mr. Holt of Danvers. On the Sunday before last he preached at Mr. Bernard's and his death is to us all very sudden. He was a very large

<sup>14</sup> See Felt's Annals, vol. 2, pp. 167, 168.

man, tall and corpulent, large boned, strong, laborious, and healthy. He died from a swelling in the neck which I have not heard described. He was an honest man, His services were faithful. He went late into the ministry and retained his rustic address through life with the least possible alteration. He was a man of no information, but much respected for his integrity, hospitality and fidelity. He was liable to suffer from being duped, but not capable of being persuaded to anything which was not to him a matter of conscience. The funeral of Mr. Holt drew together a great concourse. A prayer on the occasion by the Rev. P. Payson and a sermon by Rev. Forbes of Cape Ann. The Pall was supported by Dr. Willard, Pres. of the University, Rev. Forbes, Payson, Fuller, Bernard and Storer. After the Funeral was a repast. A conference with the church and a proposal to exchange with a candidate or supply the desk by the association for the benefit of the widow. Holt aged sixty-seven.

The parish meeting of September 1st, 1791 voted "to Give Liberty to the Officers of the Artillery Company to Set up a Gun house on the Parishes Land near the Meeting House Dureing the Parishes Pleasure, a Committee of three Persons to Say where sd House Shall Stand." The Warrant for this meeting adds a few more things that may be seized for debt—"Tools or Emplements necessary for his Trade or Occupation Beasts of the Plow nesecery for the Cultevation of his Improved land, arms, utensils for house keeping nesecery for upholding life—bedding and apparal nesecery for him Self and Family, for the Span of Twelve days"—and after this—"goal" in Salem.

In March, 1792, after previous refusals, it was finally "Voted to Give Liberty to William Shillaber Esq. to take away the mens Stares in the Meeting house, the Plastering over head and makeing the room where the Lower Part of the Stares are in to a Pew for the use of the Parish." However, this vote was promptly reconsidered at the next meeting, and the parishioners were asked if "it be their minds to have a door Opened at the west End of the Meeting house into the Steple if the owners of the Pews are willing." Before any action was taken, the parishioners were shocked and grieved by the death of their



minister, Rev. Mr. Holt, who was greatly beloved. On August 11th, 1792, Mr. John Dodge, Collector was directed "to warn the inhabitants of the South Parish by Posting up an attested copy of this Warrant at the Meeting house that they assemble to Gether in the Meeting house on Monday the 20th Day of August Instant at 2 of the Clock afternoon to choose a moderator Allso to See if it be the Minds of the Parish that the Sallery of the late Rev.d Mr. Holt be Continued in favour of his Family durement the time the Several Ministers of the Association Shall Supply the Desk and give their Sermons as they have agreed to Preach Twelve Sabbeths—or See if it be their Minds that the Said Sallery Shall Continue untill the End of the Present year. Allso to See what Meethod shall be taken to Supply the Desk after the Term expires that the aforesaid Ministers Shall Preach and appoint Sum Persons to Affect the Same—Allso to See if they Direct the Parish Committee to Give orders on the Parish Treasurer for the Payment of the Charges that have arisen for the Funeral of the late Rev.d Mr. Holt—Allso to See if they will give orders to the Parish Committee to Dror orders on the Parish Treasurer for the Charges that have arisen by the Process brought against the former Assessors by Nath.l Pope Allso to See if they Raise any Sum of Money for the use of the Parish the Present year and how much and when Sd. Money Shall be Paid into the Parish Treasure." The parish met on August 20th and voted to continue the salary of Mr. Holt till the end of the year and to choose a committee to supply the desk until January first, also to pay the charges of the process brought by Nathaniel Pope. One week later the parish met again and voted that the parish committee "draw orders on the treasurer for the Whole Charges and Expence Occasioned by the Death and Enterrment of their well Respected the Rev.d Mr. Nathan Holt who died August 2 1792."

In the October 9th warrant the qualifications of a voter are defined—"Inhabitants of sd. Parish qualified by Law to Vote in Parish Meetings—Viz: Such as Pay to one Single Tax besides the Poll or Polls a Sum Equal to two

Thirds of a Single Poll tax." Time after time, an effort was made to have the minister's salary raised by a tax on the pews, and it was always defeated, either by vote when presented, or if the measure passed successfully it was reconsidered at an adjourned meeting, and then defeated. The Oct. 17th Warrant was addressed to John Dodge, "Collector for the South Parish in Danvers—Greeting—you are hereby require in the Name of the Commonwealth of Massetchusetts to Notifie and Warn the Freeholders and other inhabitants of sd. Parish Qualified by Law to Vote in Parish Meeting (Viz): Such as Pay to one Single Tax besides the Poll or Polls the Sum Equal to two thirds of a Single Poll Tax, to assemble to Gether at the Meeting house in sd. Parish on Tuesday the 30th Day of October Instant at 2 o'Clock, To Choose one or more Agents or attornies to receive Possion of a Tract of land with Building theiron Situate in sd. Parish by Virtue of an Execution Issued on a Judgment recover'd by Sd. Inhabitants at the Coort of Common Pleas held at Newbury Port for and within the County of Essex on the Last Tuesday of Sept. Last against John Endicott of Sd. Parish, Gentleman, for Possession of Certain Real Estate described in the Original Rit—with full Power to do and transact any matter and things Nessecery for accomplishing the Business. Given under our hands and Seals this Seventeenth Day of October, A.D. 1792.

Joseph Whithmore	}	Parish Committee.
Wm. Shillaber		
Sam'l Epes		

Voted to Choose one agent or attorney agreeable to the above Warrant.

Voted Mr. Samuel Putnam<sup>15</sup> of Salem be our Sd. agent or attorney to take into Possission the Estate of John Endicott and to do Every thing for the Parish as mentioned in the above Warrant he Shall think Proper.

Sam'l Epes, P. Clerk."

The meeting of December, 1792, "Voted that the Parish Committee be Directed to Dror orders on the

<sup>15</sup> Hon. Samuel Putnam, Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, a native of North Danvers, 1758-1831, where he maintained a summer residence and a resident of Salem.

Parish Treasurer for the Payment of Mr. Peter Hoth Preaching Three Sabbeths and his Board and horse Keeping. Voted to Lay the Suport of the Ministree on the Pews in the meeting house for the Future and for the repairs of the meeting house & other Changes. Voted to Choose a Committee to apply to the General Coort early in theair next Session, to Make an Act to Enable them to affect the above Porpoise."

In March, 1793, the inhabitants voted at the Parish meeting "to have a Subscription Paper go about to Git money to repair the Meeting House. Voted if Their Should be Money a nuf raised by Subscription then The Suport of the Gospel ministtree Should be Laid on the Pwes in the Meeting house for the Future. Voted to have a Contribution to Pay the minister for three Months to Come from March the 13th 1793. Voted Deacon Seccomb and Deacon Proctor be desired to cary round the Box in the Lore end Part of the Meeting house and the Saxon in the Galleries."

The next meeting, after being adjourned seven times, "Voted that the Committee that was Chosen to Supply the Desk be desired to engague Mr. Mead<sup>16</sup> to preach here for such length of time as they shall think proper." This was the 23rd of July, 1793. Meanwhile a meeting had been held on the 10th of June, and the Parish had "Voted to give the Heirs of the Rev.d Nathan Holt late of Danvers Deceased a Quit Claim Deed of four Poles of Land on the Front and the Same Wedth through to the north side of the half acre of land on which the Dwelling house of the Deceased now Stands."

Warrant, "to Nathan Procter Junior Collector for the South Parish in Danvers, . . . To authorize some person

16 Rev. Samuel Mead was born in Rochester, Mass., in 1764, the son of Zaccheus and Sarah (Barlow) Mead. He was graduated from Harvard in 1787 with the degree of M.A. and he first studied medicine, but later entered the ministry. The South Church was his first parish. He was married Jan. 1, 1797, to Susannah Clapp, and there were eight children born to them. Mr. Mead was a Hopkinsian in belief and the South Church made it uncomfortable for him, so that he was forced to resign. He later was pastor of the second parish of Amesbury (Merrimack) where he died on March 28, 1818, aged fifty-two years. His widow later resided in Woburn.

on behalf of the Inhabitants to make proper conveyance to John Endicott or his assignes of the Real Estate which was recovered against him by sd. Inhabitants by the Judgment of the Court of Common pleas held at Newbury Port in and for the County of Essex at September Term A.D. 1792 upon his paying the Principal and Interest of Debt and cost. Stephen Needham, Caleb Low, Sylvester Osborn, Parish Committee”

On April 1st, 1794, the parish voted to raise the sum of 75 pounds to pay the debts that were contracted in the war, and the charges of making and collecting the tax. At the meeting on Feb. 17, 1795, “Voted Capt. Jona: Proctor be Agent for the Parish to settle with Mr. Peter Twiss respecting the Land Mortgaged to the Parish by sd. Twiss, if not settled by the 10th of June next said agent is directed to sue for the note or mortgage. Voted to assess those persons that formerly belonged to Capt. Putnams Company.”

After more than twenty years of voting and reconsidering taxing the pews for the minister’s support, and taking the matter to the General Court for the power to do this, action was finally taken in 1793, and the fifth volume of the church records gives a clear account of it.

The Courts act of Incorporation to form the South Parish  
of Danvers into a Proprietary.  
Commonwealth of Massachusetts

In the Year of our Lord one Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety three. An act to impower the proprietors of the South Meetinghouse in the South Parish in Danvers in the County of Essex to raise money by a tax on the pews and such seats in the said Meetinghouse as the Proprietors of Said meetinghouse shall think proper and making provision for the dissolution of Said Parish

Whereas application has bin made to this Court by the inhabitants of the South Parish in Danvers in the County of Essex Presenting the many inconveniences arise to them from their present mode of supporting and maintaining a publick Teacher of Religion and for paying other charges incidental and desiring that for the future the same may be done by taxes to be laid on the pews and such seats as



the Proprietors of Said Meeting-house shall think proper and that said Parish may be dissolved.

Be it therefore enacted by the Senate and house of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same that the Proprietors of Said South Meeting-house be and hereby are authorized and impowered to raise by a Tax on the Pews and such seats in Said Meeting-house as are above mentioned such sum or sums of Money as the Proprietors thereof at a legal meeting called for that purpose Shall vote and agree upon for the purpose of supporting and maintaining a Public Teacher of Piety Religion & Morality for defraying the Ministerial and all other charges incident thereto and at such Meeting to choose all such officers as are or shall be necessary to manage and transact all the Business of Said Propriety. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that the Proprietors of Said South-meeting-house be and are hereby impowered by themselves or their Committee duly chosen to cause the pews and Seats in the said Meeting-house to be valued according to the convenience and situation thereof and to alter from time to time such valuation as may be found necessary and to Determine what sum each pew or part of a pew and seat shall pay toward the expenses and charges aforesaid and the time & manner in which the same shall be paid and if any Proprietor or owner of a pew or part of a pew or seat shall neglect or refuse to pay the sum or sums assessed thereon for a longer time than twenty days after Notice of Such assesment having been given by him by the Collector such Proprietor or Owner shall pay to the use of said Proprietors over and above the Said tax or assesment from the expiration of said twenty days at and after the rate of six pr centum pr annum on such tax or assesment & if the same together whith the interest aforesaid shall not be paid within one year from the expiration of said twenty days the said proprietors may and are hereby authorized & empowered by themselves or their Committee to sell and dispose of the pew or part of a pew or seat of such delinquent in such way and manner as shall be agreed on by said proprietors and after deducting from the sale thereof the said tax or assessment whith the Intirest thereof accruing as aforesaid and the charges of the sale. The overplus if any Shall be paid to the person so delinquent provided nevertheless that when the Proprietor or owner of any pew or part of a pew or seat shall make a tender of the same to the said proprietor or their Committee for the

sums the same shall be valued at as aforesaid and they shall refuse or neglect to accept the sum no further sum shall be deducted out of the sale of said pew or part of a pew or seat, but such only as shall have become due before the making such tender & the charges of sale. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that from & after the passing this act the said South Parish shall cease to exist & be a Parish excepting only for the purposes & intents following, that is to say for settling & fully completing all such transactions & accompts to the same and Collecting all such sums of Money as have heretofore been voted and assessed on the Inhabitants thereof and now remain uncollected and for making a settlement with their Collector and Treasurer and to be liable in law for all debts which as a parish they may now owe, if any Such their be and in case there is not Money already voted and assessed sufficient to pay and Discharge such debts, to Vote such further sums as may or shall be necessary therefor & to Choose such officers as may be necessary to assess collect and receive the same and for holding and managing all lands tenements and hereditaments already belonging to the inhabitants of Said Parish. in case the same should not enure<sup>17</sup> and vest in the Proprietors of the said South-meeting-house as is in hereafter mentioned. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that all the Lands Tenements & hereditaments which do now belong to the inhabitants of Said Parish for the use of the Ministry or for the use of Said parish & for any other uses and purposes Shall forthwith enure<sup>17</sup> and be Vested in the Proprietors of Said South Meeting-house for the Use of the Ministry and for such other uses and purposes and in as full and ample a manner as if the said inhabitants off Said parish had and would have had, if the Said parish had not been dissolved and the Said proprietors of Said South Meeting-house are hereby constituted and declared to be the successors of Said South Parish in Danvers and shall be vested with all the powers and privileges that Precincts or Parishes, within this Commonwealth are vested with. relating to their agreeing with and settling a publick teacher or teachers of piety Religion and Morality and shall likewise be liable to all penalties that Parishes or precincts are liable to for their neglect in not settling and supporting such Publick teacher. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that in Cases their should be no Clerk of said Parish in existence

<sup>17</sup> Become established.

that then all the Records books and papers which did belong to, or any way respect the Said inhabitants of Said parish shall be delivered by the person in possession of the same to the Clerk of the Proprietors of Said Meeting-house to be carefully and safely kept. And it is hereby made the duty of such Clerk to make out true, correct and attested Copies of all such papers and Records relating to Said Parish at the request of any person desiring the same he paying to the Clerk such legal Fee for copying the same. All which copies signed & attested by such Clerk shall be as valid as though said parish had continued and as though the same had been attested by the Clerk of the Parish. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid that Richard Ward Esq. be and he is hereby empowerd to issue his warrant directed to some principal Proprietor of Said South Meeting-house requiring him to notify and warn the Proprietors thereof to meet and assemble at such time in said Meeting-house as by said warrant shall be appointed to choose all such necessary Officers as by law are Required and are usual for Proprietors of Real Estate to choose at their annual meeting. And that the Proprietors of Said meeting-house may at such meeting agree and determine on a time for their annual Meetings and on a Mode for calling those and all other occasional meetings and the Place of Such Meeting.

Sept. 24, 1793.

In the house of Representatives

This bill having had three several Readings passed to be Enacted.

Edward H. Robbins, Sp'k'r.

In Senate Sept. 24, 1793.

By the Governor Approved

Sept. 28, 1793,

John Hancock.

This Bill having had two Several Readings passed to be enac'd. Sam'l Phillips, President.

A true Copy.

Attest John Avery jun. Sec'y.

Warrant, "to William Shilleber Esq. one of the principal Proprietors of the South meeting-house in the South Parish in Danvers—signed Richard Ward Justice of Peace to call a meeting as the General Court directed. The instructions to the collector now became more pre-

cise and elaborate. "To Isaac Munroe, Collector, appointed by the Proprietors of the South Meeting House in Danvers—Sir, you are hereby required to make the following list of taxes and show it to each person herein named (liable to be taxed) immediately, and note against the name of each person, the month and day of the month, it was shewn to them,—You will also inform each Proprietor, herein named, that after twenty days from the time they are notified (of the assessment) interest will be due on the amount of their tax, at the rate of six percent per annum, and that those pews on which the tax shall not be paid, within one year and twenty days, from the time of their Proprietors having been notified, will be exposed at Public Sale, agreeable to the law establishing this Society. You will collect the money (for the assessments herein after mentioned) as soon as may be practicable, and pay the same as you collect it, into the Treasury of this Society.

Caleb Smith  
Joseph Shed.

Assessors appointed by the Prop's of the S.M.H. in D—. Done at Danvers this tenth day of May, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twenty."

The first meeting of the new Proprietors was held on the day and hour directed, and William Shillaber was elected Proprietors' Clerk, instead of Parish Clerk as formerly. Deacon Joseph Seccomb was appointed to number the pews and three men to "apprise the pews." The second Monday in April was decided upon for holding the annual meeting of the proprietors. "Voted—that the Method for calling futer meetings Shall be by posting up Notifications at the meetinghouse of the time & place of the meeting signed by the proprietors clerk by order of the comittee." At the adjourned meeting on October 29, 1793, the proprietors were asked "if it be their minds to concur with the church and give Mr. Sam'll Meed a call to Settle with them for their Minister, also to see what Sum they would grant him for a settlement and when sd. Sum Shall be paid in, Also to see what Sum they will grant him for his yearly Sallery and weather Said Sallery



Shall be paid him quarterly or at the end of the year, also to see what method they will take to raise sd. Settlement. Also to chuse a comitte to Supply the Desk and to give Mr. Meed notice of the doings of this meeting." It was voted to concur with the church in giving Mr. Sam'll Mead a call to be the minister, to give him two hundred pounds settlement and one hundred and twenty pounds salary, to be paid quarterly. It was voted "that Subscription papers be sent round to see what they can raise towards paying the settlement."

Two days later another adjourned meeting was held and it was voted "that one half the Sum of two Hundred pounds granted for a Setlement to Mr. Meed be paid him in Six Months and the other half of Said Sum of two Hundred pounds be paid in two years after Mr. Meed Shall Settle among us."

Another meeting was held on December 2nd, and it was "voted to pay the last Hundred pounds of the Settlement in one year instead of two years as by a former vote. Mr. Sam'll Meed gave his answer to Settle with us as our Minister 17th December 1793. Voted That the Ordination be on the 8 day of January 1794. Voted That the Council be Desired to call on Mr. David Daniels to be informed where they are to be entertained. Voted to choose a Committee to make pereporations for the entertainment of the Council & to Shore up the Galleries. Voted To raise 70 Dollars to Defray the charges of the Council. That the Committee that is appointed to provide for the Council be impowered to borrow the above Sum of £21- on the Credit of the Proprietors."

"Jan. 13th, 1794—The proprietors Meat according to adjournment. Voted that the comitte be directed to assess on the pews in the meetinghouse for ye payment of one half Mr Meads Setlement & the charges of the council That the comitte assess one hundred & twenty pounds on the pews for one years Sallery to be paid to Mr. Mead. That Deacon Procter & Deacon Seccomb be desired to carry round the contribution box every Saboth & pay in the money collected to the proprietors Treasurer & that Said Treasurer keep a true record of what he receives.

That Wm. Reed be desired to receive the contribution money in the gallery & deliver the same to decon Seecomb. Voted to pay Jno. Dodge 4 dollars for his Trouble in providing for the concil. Voted to pay Rich.d Sprague 2 Dollars for his Trouble." In March of this year it was "voted to sell the floor in ether of the side gallerys and that part of front except the Singers Seat to build pews on." In May it was "voted to build a row of pews in the front of the western Gallery also in the front of the front Gallery as far as the singing Seat. Voted that Major Low be empower'd to borrow a sufficient sum of Money on Interest on the Credit of the Proprietors to compleat the above pews. Voted The loose Money contributed be given to Mr. Mead."

On April 13, 1795, the Proprietors were asked "if they will give the Rev'd Mr. Sam'll Mead a quit claim to all their right in the Ministers land laying to the westward of Capt. Richard Smiths House, also to see if they will raise any money to defray the Necessary charges of the propriety & how much, also to See if it be the minds of the proprietors that the contrabution box be carried round on the first Saboth in every month after the afternoon Service, The contrabution box will be carried round the first Saboth in Aprile. Also to See what Method the proprietors will take respecting the pews in the meeting house where the owners of Such pews have not paid the Taxes on the Same." At a meeting on May 11th it was "Voted that the first tuesday in June next at 2 a clock afternoon be assigned for the sail of a number of pews & parts of pews be sold on which the taxes are not paid. Voted that the Deacons be desired to carry round the contrabution box on the first Sabeth in each month." There were 44 pews sold for unpaid taxes, at prices ranging from 2-5 pounds. One of the proprietors was chosen "to bid of those pews that do not fetch the amount of ye Tax," and Robert Shillaber was to "be the person to purchase the sd. pews for the benefit of the proprietors." The next month it was "voted to give Wm. Reed Twelve Dollars for his Service as Sexton the year past & for carrying round the contrabution box the present year."

In July it was "voted to chuse one person to aply to Sundry persons to See what money they will let the propriety on Interest to pay Mr. Mead's settlement. Voted that the proprietors comitte be directed to draw orders on Intrest in favour of those persons that shall disbust the money to pay Mr. Mead's Settlement. Voted to Sell the room where the mens Seats now Stand to David Felton for 66/ or £3-6-0."

Mr. Mead's salary was raised to \$400.00 for the year 1796. It was 'voted to chuse one person to take the charge of the proprietors pews & that sd person may Sell or let the sd pews as he may think best for the proprietors. Voted that William Reed be Impowered to fasten up the proprietors pews, and that the proprietors comitte be Impowered to Value the new pew built out of the mens seats. Voted to Raise Sixty dollars to pay for the building of pews in the front of the mens gallery. That Stephen Low be Employed to see the pews built in the gallery & be Impowerd to draw money out of the Treasury to defray the charges in building of sd pews." On May 2nd, 1796, it was voted "to let 1 Seat in pew No. 33 to Meriam Moulton- for 10/ a year- to be paid quarterly." On June 23rd "Sold Deacon Joseph Secomb Pew No. 18 for Twelve Dollars. Rec'd Pay. Sold Pew No. 11 to Stephen Laribee for fifteen Dollars—Rec'd pay. July 8th- Rec'd of Asa Felton 18 shillings towards half of pew No. 73. The sd half is to be 36 shillings. The other eighteen shillings he is to pay in one month. Aug. 8th—Sold to Capt. Sam'll White pew No. 76 in the Southmeeting-house for the sum of Ten Dollars."

On April 24th, 1797, Ward Pool was elected Clerk, & Fitch Pool put on a committee, the first mention of these names. "Voted that the clerk be desired to post up a notification at the meeting house that those pews on which the taxes are not pd for more then one year will be sold at the adjournment." And at the May meeting several pews were sold for this reason, an agent for the proprietors bidding off any pew that did not sell for the amount of the back taxes. ("Sold pew No. 49 to Jonathan Frothingham for 19 dollars.") "Voted that the pews in the gal-

lery be fastned up on Saturday next unless Sold before. May 22nd—Voted to Enure Ward Pool from Serving as clerk. Voted Fitch Pool clerk ye present year. Voted Ward Pool one of the comitte & assessors the present year. Voted to Sell one half pew No. 35 to Isaac Willson ye 3rd for £2-6-10. Let Pew No. 88 in the gallery for one year to Zach.r King Jun'r for 16/6." It was still the custom to adjourn the meetings six or seven times, at weekly intervals. Apparently it was difficult to get enough persons together to attend to the business. Sometimes the warrant contains the clause—"it is desired that there will be a General Attendance of the Proprietors. June 26th—Voted to Sell one half pew No. 56 for payment of back Taxes. Sold one half pew No. 56 to Moses Preston for the Wido. Phebe Goodale for eight Dollars & one half. Oct. 3rd, Voted to sell Pew No. 59 for the back Taxes on condition that he who Shall purchase the same shall pay the taxes of 1797. Sold Said pew to Parker Cleveland Esq. on the above conditions, with a reserve of 10 days for the orders (?) of it By Mr. John Southwick the former oner. Voted to transfer Pew No. 2 to the former oners, they having repurchased it of Parker Cleveland Esq." At each meeting one or two pews were sold for taxes and on April 23rd, 13 were put up for sale, with the proviso that the former owners might redeem them in twenty days by paying the taxes; after that time they would be sold or let.

"May 21st, 1798—Respecting the request of Mr. Mead to the Proprietors at the Annual Meeting respecting fencing his Land—Voted in the negative augmenting his Salery. Voted to see if it be the minds of the proprietors to dismiss Mr. Mead from being Their Minister. Voted in the affirmative. Voted to Choose a Committee to confir with Mr. Mead on what terms the proprietors shall settle with him. The Committee to consist of Eben:r Southwick, Sylvester Osborn & John Upton." After three more adjournments, the proprietors met with Mr. Mead present, "having previously waited on the Committee proceeded to observe—That the reports in Circulation said to be the cause of the difficulty between him and the Society



& which were elided to him, he was willing to forfeit his Honour & all that was near and dear to him if the persons could be produced that would say that he paid him—No questions being asked Mr. Mead retired." Apparently no further action was taken as the April, 1799, annual warrant speaks of Mr. Mead's salary to be voted upon. The warrant also asks "If it be the Minds of the proprietors to Petition the General Court at the next Session to have the Act Repealed which formed them into a Society, and to be reinstated into a Parrish as they were before sd Act Passed. And if that be their Minds, to Choose a Committee to draught a Petition & see that it be accomplished."

The South Parish contributed men toward a company for the suppression of "Shays' Rebellion." They joined in resolutions commending John Adams' administration in 1799, and in 1808 they successfully contested an effort to unite the North Parish to Salem. They sent some in the company which left Danvers in December 1787, and settled in Washington County, Ohio, as they had previously taken part in the settlement of New Salem in 1734 and other emigrations.

In January, 1800 the Warrant called for action on several matters, but so few people came to the meeting that no action could be taken. Again, the warrant was posted on the meeting house, calling for a meeting of February 7th and this time a quorum was evidently present for it was "Voted to give the ground now improved by the Singers to those Subscribers who may Contribute to the building a pew & supporting a School. The regulations of which, they will adopt. Voted to choose a Committee of arrangements for the observance of the 22nd of Feb. Inst. for the Commemoration of the Death of Gen. George Washington late Commander in chief of the Armies of the United States, (whose memory will ever be dear to every friend of our Country) agreeable to the Proclamation of the President of the United States of America. Voted that the Committee consist of 3 men. Voted that the Standing Committee (1st mention) of the society be the above, Viz: Jacob B. Winchester, Ward Pool & Eben'r Shillaber."

Raising the minister's salary by a tax on the pews was not proving successful. Every meeting contains a clause about selling several pews for non-payment of taxes. Frequently those who bought the pews lost them the next year for the same reason. In April, 1800, it was "Voted that the Committee examine the Steeple with a carpenter, and report at the adjournment the probably expense of the repairs that may be necessary. Voted to give the ground between Joseph Trasks & Mr. Thos. Peabodys pews, to Miss Mehitable Trask as a consideration for the loss of her pew in the Gallery (tore down)." At the May meeting it was voted to repair the steeple, and to raise the sexton's pay to fourteen dollars for the present year. Nine more pews were sold for taxes at this meeting. Apparently, even those who hired seats did not pay for them, for it was "Voted that the Treasurer be empowered to collect the money due the proprietors from those persons who have hired pews & seats of them & if they refuse to pay, he is hereby authorized to take the legal course in law for the recovery of the same. Voted to empower the Committee to sell the pews now possessed by the proprietors at such prices as they may think proper." "April 13—1801—Voted that Daniel Proctor 3rd be the Saxton the present year." But on April 25th "Voted to reconsider the vote respecting the Saxton. Voted that Mr. Wm. Read be Saxton." The Warrant of June 13, 1801, again contains the clause about repealing the Proprietary, and at the following meeting on June 22nd, it was "Voted to petition the General Court for the Repeal of the act which formed them into a proprietary that they may be reinstated into a Parish as they were before said act passed. Voted to Choose a Committee to cary the above vote into effect. Mr. John Upton & Mr. Robert Shillaber chosen." And at the next meeting, the following September, this vote was reconsidered. Twelve pews were advertised for sale, at this meeting, all for delinquent taxes.

In 1802, the Rev. Mr. Mead's salary was still \$400.00 and William Reed was still the sexton. It was voted to "give the Saxton 14 Dollars for his services the present

year, provided he perform the duty required of him by the Committee." Some of the members desired to whitewash, paint and repair the inside of the meeting house, but "the proprietors having consulted each other respecting the above business, concluded not to proceed upon it, the Meeting therefore died."

Evidently it was a constant struggle to collect the pew rents, and various ways were tried. This letter, addressed to Capt. Sylvester Procter, shows a new way: "Sir: You are directed to take this list and show it to each proprietor within named, and to make minutes when you show it against each persons name; and at the expiration of a year and twenty days after each person has been notified you are to return it to the Treasurer that the pews that shall then appear delinquent may be exposed for sale. NB: You are likewise desired to pay the money to the Treasurer as you shall collect it.

Joseph Torrey

Jacob B. Winchester Proprietors Committee"

Warrant "The Proprietors of the South Meeting House, and others, who wish to promote the singing in the Society are hereby Notified to meet in Said House on Monday the 9th day of Aug't next at 4 O'Clock P.M. To choose a Moderator And to see if they will choose a Committee, or take any method to encourage singing in the Society, and restore that part of Divine Worship, which at present is wholly suspended. And to see if the proprietors will take any method, to prevent the disorder of the boys in the Gallery on the Sabbath. Notice is likewise hereby given that the pews in the South Meeting House on which taxes have been due one year & twenty days will be sold at Auction on the above said day and place, at 6 O'Clock P.M. unless the taxes due on them are previously paid, those persons who wish to purchase are requested to attend.

The conditions to be made known at the time & place of Sale. Fitch Pool, P.C. Danvers, 31st July, 1802."

At the August meeting it was "Voted to choose a Committee to appropriate the money which may be raised by subscription & contribution to the purpose mentioned in the warrant. Voted that the committee consist of five Voted that Maj'r Caleb Low, Eben'r Shillaber, John Peirce, Eben'r Sprague & Maj'r J. B. Winchester be the above Committee. Voted to choose a person to lead in the singing. Voted that Mr. John Peirce be informed by the Committee, that it is the desire of the Society, that he should be the chorister, if it is agreeable to him and lead in the singing in futer. Voted to authorize the Committee to invite as many of the singers to sit in the seats as they may think proper. Voted that a person be appointed to receive the money which may be subscribed & otherwise contributed for the support of a school, for the instruction of a class of singers. Voted that the Committee be authorized to superintend, regulate and inspect the School which may be kept the Coming Winter, Voted there shall be a contribution 3 Sabbaths successively and that Mr. Mead be requested to mention the same after the service of each forenoon of said days and that the Saxton Cary the boxes, Voted to choose a person to still the boys in the gallery and prevent disorder in futer. Voted that Mr. Wm. Read be the person & he is hereby authorized to prosicute any disorderly person or persons, for which he is to have a reasonable compensation."

The difficulty with the Rev. Mr. Mead in 1798, apparently healed, now flared up again. In the October 1802 warrant, the proprietors were asked to "take into consideration the expediency of a continuance or dissolution of their connection with their Rev'd Pastor. A general attendance is requested, as those who do not attend, will



be considered as having no objection that the connection should be dissolved." And at the following meeting "The question being put, whether it be expedient that their connection with thier Rev'd Pastor be continued—The house being poled Twenty six where found in the Negative & thirteen in the affirmative. Voted that a Committee of two men be chosen to wait on Mr. Mead, with a report of the proceedings of the Meeting. Voted Doct'r Jos. Torrey & Robert Shillaber be the Committee & make a report at the adjournment, on Nov. 2nd. The proprietors met agreeable to adjournment and proceeded to buisness. Voted that the Statement relative to the matter concerning Mr. Mead & Mr. Dodge should be read in Meeting. Voted that Mr. Mead be permitted to speak in the meeting, relative to matters respecting himself & the Society. Mr. Mead having retired & the main question being again put (is it expedient that the connection with our Rev'd Pastor be continued?) Thirty one were in the Negative & thirteen in the affirmative. Voted that the Clerk furnish Mr. Mead with a copy of the proceedings of this meeting. Danvers 2 November, 1802. Fitch Pool, P.C.

On Nov. 6th the proprietors met again and chose a committee to confer with Mr. Mead about the terms of separation between him and the society." On November 15th they voted to "inform Mr. Mead that it is at his option, either to ask a dismission of the Proprietors, relying on their generosity, or submit the matter to a Council." This meeting was adjourned until November 29th, when the committee reported "having waited on Mr. Mead, who was not ready to give an answer to them on the matter they had in charge, but wished further time to consider of it, and that the meeting might be adjourned for a few weeks, during which time he would give his answer. Voted That a subscription be drawn up, and put in cir-

culation and the money raised thereby given him on condition of his asking a dismission & quitting his Ministry among us. Voted that a Committee be chosen to procure subscribers & collect the money subscribed by them, and Capt. Sylvester Procter & Mr. John Upton were respectively chosen." The proprietors met again on December 13th, Mr. Mead having given his answer to the committee, which was "That he would wait on a Committee appointed by the Proprietors, and agree on the terms of separation, or submit the matter to a Council. They therefore Voted to choose a Committee & that it should Consist of three men & Mag'r J. B. Winchester: Mr. Robert Shillaber & Mag'r Caleb Low. The above Committee have discretionary power to agree with Mr. Mead on the terms of separation." The following Monday, "the Committee not having settled with Mr. Mead on the terms of separation, Therefore it remains only that the Church call a Council, and concur with the Proprietors if they think it advisable. Voted the Church be requested to call a Council as soon as may be." Probably this was done, although the church records do not mention the matter again, except to ask "what method they will take to supply the Desk." It was voted to enlarge the singing seats "that the singers may be better accommodated."

*(To be continued)*

## BACK NUMBERS OF THE COLLECTIONS

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The Institute is constantly having requests for back numbers of the Collections, and members will help the Publication Committee by returning any back numbers they do not wish to keep if they are not binding their sets, especially July, 1943. Also, where libraries are being broken up, the Institute will gratefully receive bound sets or parts of sets which are often desired by new members and historians.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

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THE NEW ENGLAND QUARTERLY. A Historical Review of New England Life and Letters. Published by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts and the New England Quarterly. \$4.00 a year, \$1.00 a copy.

This well-known Quarterly has, with the December number, concluded its twenty-fourth year. It has been outstanding in its field of history relating to this section of the country, and throughout its career has been fortunate in having on its editorial staff men of literary prominence. An index for the year has been prepared by one of the editors, Walter Muir Whitehill, Librarian of the Boston Athenaeum, who also prepares each year a bibliography of New England. Samuel Eliot Morison is the editor-in-chief and Herbert Brown, Brunswick, Maine, is the managing editor, to whom all articles should be submitted.

THE SIN OF THE PROPHET. By Truman Nelson. 1952, 450 pp. octavo, cloth. Price \$4.00.

This is a novel written around the Negro Anthony Burns and the Rev. Theodore Parker, the Unitarian abolitionists. Truman Nelson was born in Lynn, Massachusetts, on February 18, 1912. "I attended high school," he says, "but I have no diplomas, no passports whatsoever to the academic world. I am a graduate of the public library." His literary heroes were Joyce, Shaw, O'Neill, Sean O'Casey, and Dashiell Hammett. He started writing plays when he was sixteen, and one was performed by an amateur group. Mr. Nelson is particularly interested in the American Transcendentalists, and has roamed extensively through Boston, Salem, Concord, Lexington, and the Walden Pond area, places hallowed by the great names of 19th century New England. For a long time a phrase of Thoreau's kept going through his mind: "A very few, as heroes, patriots, martyrs, reformers in the great sense, and men, serve the state with their consciences also, and so necessarily resist it for the most part; and they are commonly treated as enemies by it." Mr. Nelson's discovery of the Anthony Burns incident solidified this thought into the present novel, for Theodore Parker, who defended the slave Burns, was one of those few who "serve the state with their consciences also." Mr. Nelson started writing this novel on Sundays, while working in a factory. He lives in



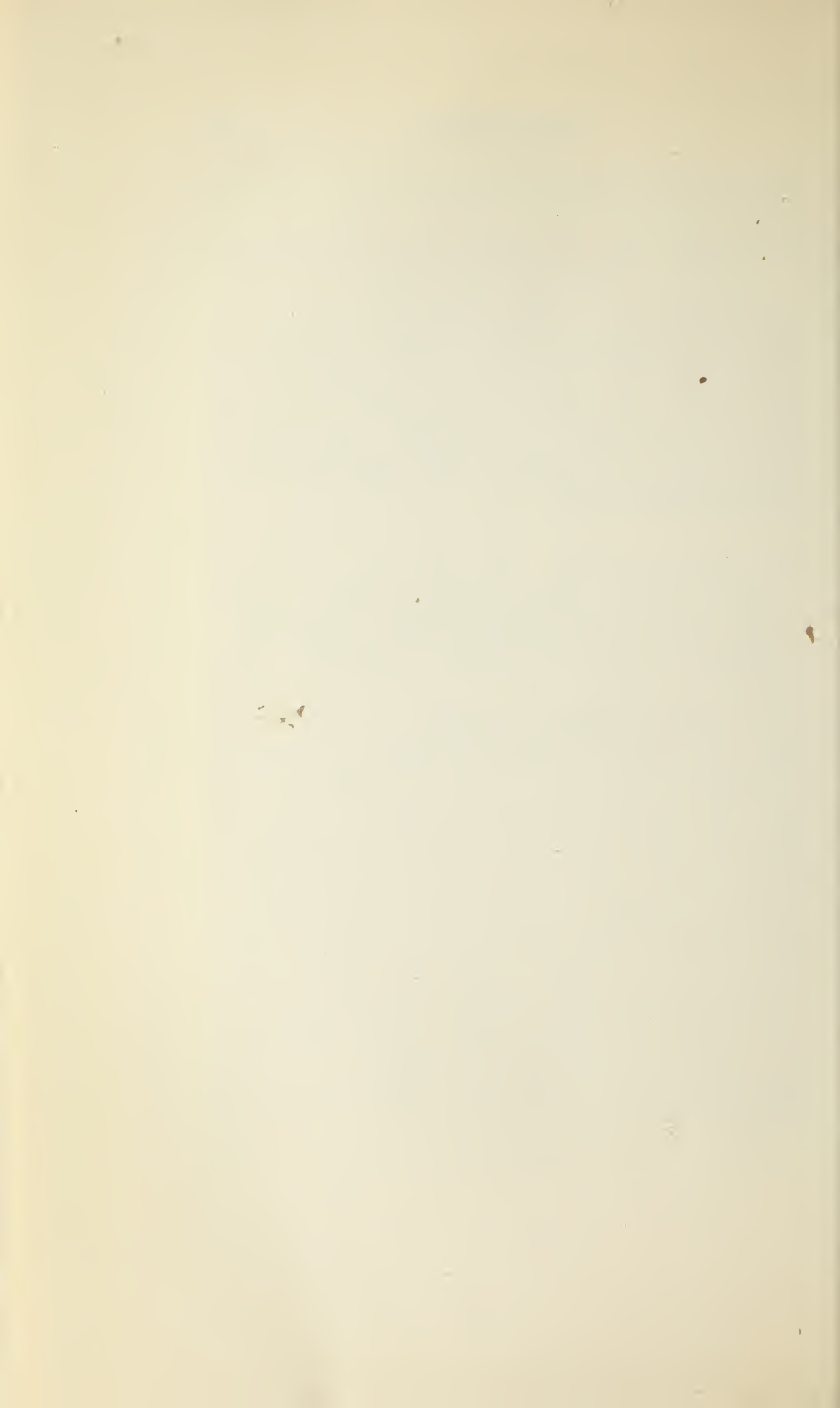
Salem where he is a member of the Essex Institute, and is now at work on a documentary novel of Brook Farm.

MARY BAKER EDDY. *In a New Light*. By Fernand E. d'Humy. 1952, 181 pp. octavo, cloth, illustrated. New York: Library Publishers. Price \$3.75.

The author is not a member of the Christian Science Society, yet he has spent much time in delving into the beliefs and beginnings of this religious sect which originated in the United States. Mr. d'Humy has approached this subject with an open mind and without prejudice, examining all literature on the subject, for and against. The deductions which he makes will be of great interest to Christian Scientists everywhere who will be glad to have this latest work on Mrs. Eddy in their homes.

EARLY AMERICAN JEWRY. *The Jews of New York, New England and Canada. 1649-1794, Vol. 1*. By Jacob Radar Marcus, Director American Jewish Archives. 1951, 301 pp. octavo, cloth, illustrated. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America. Price, \$3.50.

Material for writing a history of the Jews in this country has been found practically non-existent, save for the Lopez letters in the Newport Historical Society. The Spanish Jews, who were the first to come to New York, had an acknowledged cultural background and excelled in many ways. The author has spent many months in research not only in New York, but in New England and has just brought out his first volume on this interesting subject. Professor Marcus begins with the coming of the first Jews to Boston in 1649, and continues to the last decade of the 18th century in the United States. Here at the present time he states that over half of the Jewish world is now located in this country. His prime purpose in writing this book was to better understand the American Jews of the colonial and early national period. He gives the names of many outstanding Jews in civil life, Masonry, maritime affairs and as merchants who have been recognized by non-Jews for their fine contributions to the life of the country. Recommended to all libraries.



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ERNEST STANLEY DODGE

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PORTRAIT OF 'AHMED BIN NAUMÂN  
By Edward Mooney

Courtesy of Peabody Museum of Salem

# ESSEX INSTITUTE

## HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

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### IDENTIFICATION OF MOONEY'S PORTRAIT OF A ZANZIBAR ARAB

By ERNEST S. DODGE

In 1918, Mrs. William McMullen gave the Peabody Museum of Salem an oil portrait of a rather handsome Arab by Edward Mooney. This portrait is the first entry in the *Portraits of Shipmasters and Merchants in the Peabody Museum of Salem* by Walter Muir Whitehill (Peabody Museum, 1939). It is one of two identical paintings by Mooney; the other hangs in New York City Hall. The Arab has always been identified as Ahmet ben Haman and an account of the portrait was published in 1909 in *The Century Magazine*, Volume LXXIX, page 935.

In the Museum account it states that Ahmet ben Haman went to the assistance of U. S. S. *Peacock* in the Zanzibar sloop-of-war *Sultanee* when *Peacock* was being attacked by piratical natives near the Arabian Coast. It goes on to say that in 1840 he sailed for New York on the *Sultanee* bringing gifts to President Van Buren as the representative of the Imam of Muscat. The New York Common Council voted \$500. to have a portrait likeness of this picturesque Arabian emissary painted and Edward Mooney was selected as the artist.

It is now evident that, not only has the wrong name been given to the portrait, but that two entirely different men have been confused. Recent correspondence with Sir John Gray, The High Court, Zanzibar, reveals that the Arab whose portrait was painted was, in reality, Ahmed bin Nooman bin Muhsin el Kaabi el Bahrani, who was a very important man in Zanzibar and private secretary of Seyyid Said bin Sultan. He served as an envoy for Said

bin Sultan to various countries in Europe and to the United States and died in the year 1286 of the Hijra or 1870 A. D. Information from Sir John Gray states that there is extant in Zanzibar, Ahmed bin Nooman's account book which extends from 1840 to 1854, and records business transactions entered into by him on behalf of Said bin Sultan. These include receipts and expenditures on a voyage undertaken by Ahmed bin Nooman from Zanzibar to New York in 1840, in the Sultan's man-of-war, *El Sultanee*. The captain of *El Sultanee*, at the time that vessel went to the assistance of U. S. S. *Peacock* off the Arabian coast was Hammet bin Soliman who was an entirely different person from Ahmed bin Nooman. In "Early Connections Between the United States and East Africa" an article by Sir John Gray which appeared in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* for December 1946, number 22, pages 55 to 86 (page 65) the man in question is referred to as Ahmed bin Naaman, principal emissary of Seyyid Said, and a Persian. Here, it is stated, "According to Burton he was known latterly by the name of Wajhayn, or 'Two Faces.' Hammerton reported in 1855, that he was 'ill paid and not trustworthy . . . a man of dangerous character—given to falsehood and double dealing and always asking for one thing and another, but the Imam understands him.' Ahmed bin Naaman was profoundly impressed by what he saw in America. After his return Hammerton complained that he was anti-British and 'led all hands to believe that we are a very inferior people to Americans,' and had become the leader of 'the American party' in Zanzibar."

By curious coincidence Mr. Herman Eilts, U. S. Consul at Aden in the Yeman and a student of Arabic and Arab history, arrived at the Museum shortly after my exchange of letters with Sir John Gray. He states that Ahmed bin Nooman was a very important man in Zanzibar and Muscat in the middle nineteenth century and is well known in that region historically. According to Eilts, however, the correct transliteration of the name should be 'Ahmed bin Naumân bin Muhsin al-K'abî al-Bahrainî. This man is frequently referred to in the papers and cor-



response of Richard Palmer Waters, now in the Peabody Museum of Salem, who was the first U. S. Consul at Zanzibar, 1836-1845. For a long time, Waters seems not to have gotten the name correctly and refers to him during the early years of his Zanzibar sojourn as "Ahmet bin Aman." In his later references, however, he calls him "Ahmed bin Naman" which is close to the spelling Gray uses in his article. Naumân is the correct transliteration of this Arabic name, but Eilts suggests that it is possible, however, that Sir John Gray's form of Nooman may well be a local dialectical variation. In any case, the name is not Haman which means bathroom and is not a name given to any Arabic family. It seems obvious that Ahmed bin Nooman and the captain of the *El Sultanee*, Hammet bin Soliman, two entirely different people, may have been confused.

## FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR RECORDS

CONTRIBUTED BY COL. LAWRENCE WATERS JENKINS

A Return of men Inlisted for His Majestys Service for a tottal  
Reduction of Canada April 14 - 1760

Mens Names	Where born	Where Resident	Age	Names of Fathers of Sons under age & masters of Ser- vants
Jesse Morril	Andover	Boxford	28	
Dan <sup>l</sup> Cole	Boxford	Ditto	20	Fath <sup>r</sup> Sa <sup>m</sup> Cole
Benj <sup>n</sup> Foster	Ditto	Ditto	20	Ditto Benj <sup>n</sup> Foster
Tho <sup>s</sup> Peabody	Ditto	Ditto	19	Mother wid Kath Peabody
Richard Pearl	Ditto	Ditto	20	Fath <sup>r</sup> Richard Pearl
Eliphlet Hard (sic)	Bradford	Bradford	19	Ditto Eliphlet Hardy
Ebenez <sup>r</sup> Peabody	Boxford	Boxford	17	Mas <sup>r</sup> John Adams
John Carlton	Bradford	Bradford	28	
Peter Kimball	Ditto	Ditto	20	Fath <sup>r</sup> Joseph Kimball
Joseph Mulliken	Ditto	Ditto	20	Fath <sup>r</sup> Cap <sup>t</sup> Benj <sup>n</sup> Mulliken
Dan <sup>l</sup> Runnels	Boxford	Andover	17	Master Richard Kimball
Richard Curtis	Marblehead	Boxford	27	
Thom <sup>s</sup> Spofford	Boxford	Boxford	17	Gran.Fath <sup>r</sup> Zebadiah Foster
Moses Bayley	Bradford	N Salem	24	
Nathan Tyler	Rowley	Rowley	24	
David Sherwin	Boxford	Boxford	24	

(Mustered between March 10 and April 5, 1760. "A True Copy  
Errors Excepted p<sup>r</sup> Jon<sup>as</sup> Foster Worcester May 25, 1760")

## CAPE ANN FORESTS; A REVIEW

By ROBERT L. GRAYCE

In keeping with modern trends, any overview of woodlands for the first time necessitates, as basic knowledge, an understanding of how the trees in a definite locale fit together. In this way one cannot be adjudged as "not seeing the forest because of the trees," since former interests of local residents were mostly just an inventory of species present. It is true, too, that only this approach to the subject through plant sociology enables one to know what is happening in an area in the long run and grasp the over-all picture throughout time—which is the basis for conservation knowledge. A tree doesn't grow just anywhere haphazardly. Each tree is a member of a forest community and has a definite role to play in connection with other trees present.

A study of Cape Ann's forests reveals that it is primarily a segment of what is called the northern hardwood forest in the transitional zone of Eastern North America. Of secondary interest are southern members of the more northern Canadian zone and penetrants this far north of the southern Carolinian zone. It has then a natural mixture of types existing in recognizable blocks, although complicated by the effacing of the original forest mass by the work of settlers over three centuries. Concerning the relationship of the northern hardwood forest to its substrate, it is a noticeable feature of local distribution that it occurs in its purest phases atop the morainic soils, whereas that indicator of the southern element the white oak is almost entirely allocated to the less elevated and more fertile ordinary till.

The mature primeval forest of the northern hardwoods is composed of three outstanding dominants: hemlock, beech, and sugar maple. An intermediate species of this technically termed climax forest is the yellow birch. Usually associating with these westward is the American linden, *Tilia americana*, although I have never found it on Cape Ann.

The hemlock is one of our most impressive conifers and the tree of most ancient lineage. It still occurs in pure stands scattered the extent of the Cape, but has suffered extreme depredation. A visit to such a grove of hemlocks of this species, which can easily reach five hundred years of age, always seemed like a special experience. No memory of childhood is more vivid than the recollection of explorations to the rock crevice of "Devil's Den" and near-by "Spruce Hut" (erroneously named), where in the middle of summer the temperature is five to ten degrees cooler than the open fields at midday. Ultimately the hemlock is the tree which surplaces the red maple in the swamps. Liking moist acid soil and slopes holding or draining cold air, stands of hemlock often are found on the edges and up the sides of the terminal moraines, following their extent as they dam up a wet depression, as at Raccoon Ledge bordering Briar Swamp in Rockport. Being shallow-rooted it is not so resistant to winds as the oaks, maples, and ashes. The hurricanes recorded in 1938 and 1942 overturned many of the trees on the side of Mt. Ann. Where the hemlock grows in mixed associations with other trees, an accompanying understory is often found to be the mountain laurel, whose glossy evergreen leaves and profuse clusters of pink and white wheel-shaped blossoms make it the most decorative of our native shrubs. Ravenswood Park contains many examples of the hemlock and the mountain laurel in their most undisturbed condition. On the outskirts of the park I discovered the only Cape station I know of the American yew.

Only young-age stands of the beech may still be found. Nonetheless, walking through such a tract one senses the beauty of the unspoiled broad-leaved forests in their northern aspect as they used to be. The beech grove is a realm of smooth gray trunks topped by a canopy of saw-toothed leaves so interlaced as not to admit light enough for a thriving herbaceous ground carpet. Remnants of what was once the dominant cover of Cape Ann may be seen almost everywhere, including such places as Beech Grove Cemetery and Beech Plain in Rockport, which took



their name from this species, although the latter is now mostly agricultural fields. Forest fires and woodlot cutting destroyed most of the best cover remote from settlement. The thin bark of the beech is particularly susceptible to surface fire damage, which makes ugly wounds that girdle and eventually kill the trees. The beech is a tree of the uplands and well-drained sites, which locally are often very rocky with glacial detritus. The autumn Sunday afternoon stroll to gather beechnuts, which are produced liberally only every three or four years, is a lost pastime.

The sugar maple, which to us on the Cape should perhaps be known by the synonyms of rock maple or hard maple, never grows here in pure stands as does the "sugar bush" of upstate Vermont. It exists scattered throughout on moderately dry sites and reaches fair size and good proportions. Its bright golden leaves in the fall of the year light up the forest, in contrast to the darker hues of the oaks and beeches.

The yellow birch is quite common, large mature trees being interspersed in woodlands of varying composition. Since like other birches it is good fuel wood, much of it has long since felt the bite of the axe. Longest-lived of the birches, often attaining an age of 150 years, its tattered, saffron bark is less picturesque than the paper birch of the north country.

Designated as sub-climax trees—those that precede the mature dominants of the northern hardwood forest in the succession of plant life—are two outstanding members of the forest, and among the most common, the white pine and red oak. To gaze across from the west bank of Cape Pond to the blue-green band atop the ridge on the far shore will help one grasp the splendor of this eastern pine. Its green is a softer shade than the olive of the pitch pines or the almost black tones of the distant hemlocks. From any good lookout on Dogtown Common, the veins and patches of green amid the browns and grays of the broad-leaves in winter attest to its continued abundance. Often seventy-five feet high, wolf trees over one hundred feet make this our tallest tree. A destructive crown fire a few

years ago almost totally eliminated the pines about the West Gloucester Railway Station. The advent of diesel-driven locomotives now under way will eliminate one major cause of fire. This, our only five-needled pine, was one of the most valuable conifers of early settlers, who used it in furniture making, for the wide boards of flooring in their houses, and as masts for their ships. Requiring seventy years to reach saw log size, such uses for local trees are no longer justified because of their comparative scarcity and our small area. When in mixed association with other trees, the white pine is found most frequently with the red oak, the tallest of our three oaks, reaching eighty feet. If in competition, the red oak thrives better than the white pine on the driest locations. In scrub form red oak (with some black and white oaks) grows about the Cape's granite quarries, an area once totally deforested and many times burned over. A few great old trees, large and spreading enough to satisfy a druid, still flourish. There is one such magnificent example on the main street of Annisquam Village, and many of good size compose part of the forests of the Southern Woods in Rockport and the West Gloucester woods.

The tree that pioneers on wet locations and eventually forms thick groves is the red maple. Brilliant in autumn and suffusing swampy woods in spring with coral-pink blossoms that appear before the leaves, it attracts one as a very beautiful tree. The nature of the Cape's terrain, with glacial damming of normal water outlets, provides ideal conditions in many places for its growth. At present it is just beginning to develop and form forest land on the marshy reaches of the upper Alewife Basin and Beaver Dam. One may expect that in time it will replace the blueberry bushes of Briar Swamp—a process already under way. A close-set natural planting still exists on dank ground seasonally flooded in the vanishing woods of East Gloucester.

The red maple persists as drier places develop until a not uncommon forest called a mixed forest sub-climax type emerges, which consists of all the above-mentioned species with this maple and two other wet-tolerant trees, the

black birch and black ash. Closely associated with these, its roots often in water for long periods, is the black gum, or tupelo. Being fruit-bearing, these alligator-barked trees with their layered branches are favorite fall resorts for flocks of migrating robins and waxwings. At Magnolia, in the mainland forest—a richer area than the island section—are several good-sized hop hornbeams. In the same general location may occur the American hornbeam, *Carpinus caroliniana*. Calvin Pool, in Leonard's *Pigeon Cove and Vicinity*, listed it for Rockport, although I have never been able to find it. Understory shrubs in such a woodland may be the striped maple, sassafras, witch hazel, the alternate-leaved dogwood, and the four viburnums. The buttonbush and clethra, favoring more open situations such as stream-sides and edges of ponds, are the early shrub associates of the red maple. Speckled alder, elderberry, and winterberry (the last known locally as redberry) are found along brooks and in the marshy swales. The American elm is only doubtfully a wild species with us. In the West Gloucester woods I have seen a few specimens of this tree which appeared to be in a natural setting.

Dry ground, varying from the abandoned cabbage or potato fields and parched upland cow pastures to the natural stony aridity of ground moraines or sandy wastes behind beaches, produces among its first trees the pitch pine, ground juniper, red cedar and gray birch. Dogtown Common is covered, not only by grasses and blueberry bushes, but also by spreading ground junipers and that erect cylindrical spire the red cedar. Spaced like sentinels, the cedars actually appear to be marching like an invading army across the windswept heath, making it less barren yearly. Areas where the grass is burned often become planted by the birds with pin cherry. Here, too, the gray birch has emerged from the surrounding forest and is encroaching rapidly. Such a conspicuous landmark as Whale's Jaw will, at the present rate of plant succession, be screened by trees in two decades. It seems ironic that the age-old charm of Dogtown will disappear because of the protection given its vegetation. Browsing cattle have helped stem the advance and have left un-

touched the stark cedars which are so necessary a part of the scene.

Historically, the gray birch has played the role of supplying fuel wood, and it is still cut on a very small scale for indoor fireplaces. So common a tree in our abandoned outlying fields, it is appropriately called "pasture birch" and often grows in clumps seldom reaching more than thirty feet in height. More than other trees it harbors the plant aphids which suck the juices from the leaves and exist by the billions. Walking through a birchwood of young trees in late summer, one can be covered from head to foot by these prolific green insects. Great swarms of aphids are sometimes blown about the streets and houses, and even into the middle of the city of Gloucester. Such "storms" excite sufficient interest to be publicized in the Gloucester Daily Times. Of late our gray birches have turned brown, as though fire-scorched, victims of a leaf-mining insect which has attacked the tree throughout its whole range in the Northeast.

The pitch pine, our only other native pine, appears intermixed with the gray birch as a pioneer plant. Once gaining a foothold, it often remains established for many years on impoverished soil that takes centuries to furnish the humus necessary for the dominants of the northern hardwood forest. The pitch pine groves of Cape Ann are among its attractive features, but are not so vast and conspicuous as at the other Massachusetts cape to the south. Pitch pines cloak the south side of Pool Hill, Rockport, and stretch intermittently to Cape Pond via the glacial esker of Lamb Bank. A forest fire in 1947, and subsequent repeat burnings destroyed the closed canopy and needle litter of this tract, making light enough for a ground cover of poison ivy, bayberry, sheep laurel, sweet fern and blueberry bushes, as well as gray birch and new pine seedlings. No longer is Third Pines, a section of this mass, the favorite June picnic spot for local school children as in the days of my parents. Fire-damaged trees are pock-marked and highly infested with such beetles as the ribbed pine borer. On the high ground behind the salt marshes of Cape Hedge Beach and Long Beach, this



scraggly pine thrived for long unmolested, forming an artistic backdrop for the sparkling waves and white sands. Since the close of World War II, it has been invaded here by summer cottages and housing developments. It has been spared from overcutting because of its shade value from summer sun when breezes are offshore, and, esthetically, because it enhances the beauty of the scene and adds to property values. The pitch pine is a good sand binder, as has been proved on Cape Cod. Along with the introduced Scotch pine, it grows in places behind the dunes of Coffin's Beach.

Among our most beautiful shrubs worthy of special mention and rivals in interest locally of the mountain laurel are the shadblows. They are at their best on the moors of Bass Rocks, which perhaps were always quite treeless. In spring, at the time the alewives used to run upstream, billowy masses of white like drifts of snow (an inescapable comparison!) blanket the interstices of the rounded ledges which meander for miles just back up from the blue of the open sea. Viewed from a height, they make a spectacular show, comparable to the blossoming almond trees of Iberian shores or the apple orchards of a New England farm. The sweet fruits of this shrub, formerly the fare of the extinct passenger pigeon—which is known to have visited the Cape in large flocks in summer—have named it also the pigeon plum. Increased settlement and plant succession somewhat mar the effect today.

Other Cape trees may be thought of as strangers from the adjacent vegetation units to the north or south. Cape Ann is a southern outpost for such a more boreal form as the canoe, or paper, birch, which is surprisingly common and widespread. Less abundant are the trembling and large-toothed aspens which replace the gray birch as a pioneer plant in the north woods. Among the conifers, the black and white spruces, balsam fir, tamarack, arbor vitae, and jack and red pines never became established. However, Cape Ann is the most southern coastal location on the Atlantic seaboard for the red spruce, which elsewhere is in the interior on higher elevations. The fate

of this tree on the Cape is rather sad. Once good-sized specimens could be found in our woods, especially beyond the eastern ridge above Cape Pond. In the 1890's, when many more paths intersected our woodlands and gangs such as the Triangle Gang of juvenile delinquents had hideouts in rocky moraines in the Southern Woods, the tops of the spruces were cut and sold at Christmastime. Two deformed specimens about forty feet high survive as a remnant and reminder of what once must have been a good-sized plot. As late as five years ago I saw three old decapitated veterans still bearing cones. These have tottered, so that today only two saplings less than fifteen feet in height remain. Even these have their leaders and branches attacked by the spruce aphid gall. The mountain holly, a shrub of the northern element, I have seen at the edge of Briar Swamp.

More abundant than the island of Canadian zone species are the advanced penetrants and detached units of the central hardwood forest. Its outstanding dominant, the white oak, is scattered individually throughout much of our mixed woodlands. Accompanying it locally from the same source are the black oak, and two hickories: the pignut and the shagbark. Strangely, and quite anomalous, there exists about Phillips Avenue toward Andrews Point, Pigeon Cove, a greater proportion of these trees than northern hardwoods. Hardly would one expect a suitable location for such a forest type where wintry winds from the open Atlantic and Ipswich Bay blast the coast. One is led to theorize and wonder if perhaps the sweet acorns of the white oak and edible nuts of the hickories were brought by Indians during their summer encampments and planted by chance. Finding, though, that the black oak with its bitter acorn here reaches its maximum abundance, one concludes that this is a typical example of an enclave. The most famous southern plant bringing renown to Cape Ann is the sweet bay, or swamp magnolia. Attempts to account for its presence in Magnolia woods are equally baffling. It is in Eastern North America the counterpart of the Lusitanian element in the botany of Ireland and southern England—such plants ex-

plained sometimes as relicts of a former more luxuriant preglacial forest. So the magnolia's sweet-scented starry blossoms twinkling throughout the summer in a strange woods are analogous in our sylvia to the strawberry tree which skirts the shores of the Lakes of Killarney and doesn't appear again until the Mediterranean region. With us the magnolia is only a shrub; in the southern states it reaches tree proportions. We may trust that, being in Ravenswood Park, it has a safe haven from those who would transplant it to the inhospitable soils of their home gardens, where it invariably dies after a few years, as did the rhodora of the island Cape.

No review of our forests would be quite complete without a checkup on the curiosity items contained in almost every woods. The black birch of the split erratic boulder off the west side of the main road between Gloucester and Rockport is in healthy condition. Unlike the sketch in Nathaniel S. Shaler's *The Geology of Cape Ann, Massachusetts*, it is today surrounded by an advanced mixed forest growth. Another such birch grows from a rocky crack on the hill on the other side of the road. Along the path connecting the southwest side of Cape Pond with Witham Street is a sugar maple whose first major limb is connected like a bar with another tree of the same species, giving the effect of a Siamese twin. Finally, the two naturalized American elms atop Pigeon Hill—the letter-H trees to the Pigeon Covers—appearing from Bearskin Neck like a dromedary, have so far withstood hurricanes, northeasters, and the Dutch elm disease.

It may be seen, then, that the real interest in Cape Ann's forests should lie in the example it provides in a small area of three adjacent life zones. So far, most of the settlement is still on the periphery, although encroachments into the interior are steadily increasing. The forest mass is diminishing. The remnant of our forests is needed now, in a time of increasing population pressure, as a source for unorganized recreation and relaxation—a place for the mature adult to walk and receive creative inspiration away from the noise and crowds, an out-of-door laboratory for the students of nature, be they school

children, scouts, or adults, to observe and study the living things which here make their home. Protected areas which already exist should be more actively maintained and supported, and, if necessary, by public funds. We may always expect some samples of Cape Ann forests left in such refuges and sanctuaries as Ravenswood Park, Rafe's Chasm Woods and Mt. Ann Reservation of The Trustees of Public Reservations, the Babson bird sanctuary and reservation, and the public watershed land.

For the nature student I have appended a list of the trees and shrubs of Cape Ann noticed up to the winter of 1952, the nomenclature that of the just published Eighth Centennial Edition of *Gray's Manual of Botany*.

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### SYSTEMATIC LIST OF NATIVE TREES AND SHRUBS

American Yew—*Taxus canadensis* Marsh.

Eastern Hemlock—*Tsuga canadensis* (L.) Carr.

Red Spruce—*Picea rubens* Sarg.

White Pine—*Pinus Strobus* L.

Pitch Pine—*Pinus rigida* Mill.

Ground Juniper—*Juniperus communis* L. var. *depressa*  
Pursh

Red Cedar—*Juniperus virginiana* L.

Willows—*Salix* sp.

Quaking Aspen—*Populus tremuloides* Michx.

Large-toothed Aspen—*Populus grandidentata* Michx.

Bayberry—*Myrica pensylvanica* Loisel.

Sweet Fern—*Comptonia peregrina* (L.) Coult.

Shagbark Hickory—*Carya ovata* (Mill.) K. Koch

Pignut Hickory—*Carya glabra* (Mill.) Sweet

Hop Hornbeam; Ironwood—*Ostrya virginiana* (Mill.) K.  
Koch



- Black Birch—*Betula lenta* L.  
Yellow Birch—*Betula lutea* Michx.  
Gray Birch—*Betula populifolia* Marsh.  
Paper Birch—*Betula papyrifera* Marsh.  
Speckled Alder—*Alnus rugosa* (Du Roi) Spreng.  
American Beech—*Fagus grandifolia* Ehrh.  
White Oak—*Quercus alba* L.  
Red Oak—*Quercus rubra* L.  
Black Oak—*Quercus velutina* Lam.  
American Elm—*Ulmus americana* L.  
Sweet Bay Magnolia—*Magnolia virginiana* L.  
White Sassafras—*Sassafras albidum* (Nutt.) Nees  
Witch Hazel—*Hammamelis virginiana* L.  
Black Chokeberry—*Pyrus melanocarpa* (Michx.) Willd.  
Shadbush; Pigeonberry—*Amelanchier canadensis* (L.)  
Medic. *Amelanchier laevis* Wieg.  
Hawthorns—*Crataegus* L.  
Brambles—*Rubus* L. sp.  
Roses—*Rosa* L. sp.  
Bird Cherry; Fire Cherry—*Prunus pensylvanica* L.  
Black Cherry; Rum Cherry—*Prunus serotina* Ehrh.  
Chokecherry—*Prunus virginiana* L.  
Staghorn Sumac—*Rhus typhina* L.  
Dwarf Sumac—*Rhus copallina* L. var. *latifolia* Engler  
Poison Sumac—*Rhus vernix* L.  
Poison Ivy—*Rhus radicans* L.  
Black Alder; Winterberry—*Ilex verticillata* (L.) Gray  
Mountain Holly—*Nemopanthus mucronata* (L.) Trel.  
Striped Maple—*Acer pensylvanicum* L.  
Sugar Maple; Rock Maple—*Acer saccharum* Marsh.  
Red Maple—*Acer rubrum* L.  
Tupelo; Black Gum—*Nyssa sylvatica* Marsh.  
Pagoda Dogwood—*Cornus alternifolia* L.  
Sweet Pepper Bush—*Clethra alnifolia* L.

- Mountain Laurel—*Kalmia latifolia* L.  
Sheep Laurel; Lambkill—*Kalmia angustifolia* L.  
Huckleberries—*Gaylussacia* HBK sp.  
Blueberries—*Vaccinium* L. sp.  
White Ash—*Fraxinus americana* L.  
Black Ash—*Fraxinus nigra* Marsh.  
Buttonbush—*Cephalanthus occidentalis* L.  
Hobblebush—*Viburnum alnifolium* Marsh.  
Witherod—*Viburnum cassinoides* L.  
Arrowwood—*Viburnum recognitum* Fern.  
Dockmackie; Maple-leaved Viburnum—*Viburnum acerifolium* L.  
Common Elder—*Sambucus canadensis* L.



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day of *November* in the year of our Lord, one  
thousand eight hundred and *Forty one*

*Wm D. Crossfield* Clerk.

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# FROM SOCIAL LIBRARY TO PUBLIC LIBRARY A CENTURY OF LIBRARY DEVELOPMENT IN BEVERLY, MASSACHUSETTS

By ROBERT W. LOVETT

The Public Library of the City of Beverly, Massachusetts, will celebrate its one hundredth anniversary in 1955. If the life span of the Social Library which it replaced is also taken into account, this year (1952) marks the one hundred and fiftieth of library service in the town. Neither of these libraries was the earliest such institution in Massachusetts, nor yet the latest, and it is perhaps their typical nature, together with the survival of an unbroken series of records, which make their story worth telling.<sup>1</sup> The background of library development in New England is well portrayed in Shera's *Foundation of the Public Library*, but there is room for studies of individual libraries.<sup>2</sup> Special emphasis will be given to the period of transition from social library to public library, and to the early years of the latter. The story will not be carried in detail beyond 1894, for it was during that year that Beverly became a city, and the Library, having taken stock of the progress it had made, can be said to have come of age.

In 1802, Beverly, just across a tidal river from its rival, Salem, was a flourishing seaport. Although some of its

1 The minute books of both the Social Library (containing also lists of shareholders and the treasurer's accounts from 1836 to 1855) and the Public Library have been preserved by the latter institution. A Subscription Book and two charging books, in which the volumes are identified by number only, as well as a small collection of early bills, reports, and letters, all relating to the Public Library, have survived. Eight small account books, showing collections of assessments for the Social Library between 1816 and 1832, are preserved in a slip case, with the 1805 printed catalog of that Library.

The writer is indebted to Miss Marjorie H. Stanton, Librarian of the Beverly Public Library, and Miss Alice G. Lapham, Historian of the Beverly Historical Society, for many helpful suggestions.

2 Jesse H. Shera, *Foundations of the Public Library, the Origins of the Public Library Movement in New England, 1629-1855*. The University of Chicago Press, 1949.

wealthy merchants had already begun to migrate to Boston, only twenty miles distant, many men of substance and energy remained. One of these, at that time the town's rising young druggist, reminisced about this period between the wars when, some fifty years later, he retired, full of honors. His testimony is of particular interest, for Robert Rantoul took an active part in the Social Library, as indeed he did in most aspects of the life of the town. In his reminiscences, which have been published only in part, and from which we will have occasion to quote again, he wrote:

Beverly partook of this general prosperity. There were several merchants who were engaged in foreign commerce, and prosecuted the business with enterprise and with success. The cod fishery was carried on with greater activity and with larger profits, than at any time before. There was an increase of population and a rise in the value of land. This state of things continued for about ten years after I began, and enabled me to prosecute my business with success and to add to the property with which I began.<sup>3</sup>

The population of the town in 1800 was 3,881; by 1810 it had grown to 4,333, and the following year its valuation was \$822,908.66.<sup>4</sup> Books, as Rantoul recalled, "were comparatively scarce and dear." Although the Beverly men may not have realized it, they were following a popular trend in establishing a proprietary library; for as Shera points out, the ten years, 1795 to 1805, were the most prolific of library establishment.<sup>5</sup>

There had, of course, been books in Beverly before 1802. George Edward Woodberry, in an address delivered at the dedication of the present library building in 1913, mentions a circulating library kept by Mr. Perry, at the end of the eighteenth century, "and after him another,

3 Manuscript in the possession of the Beverly Historical Society. Extracts were printed by Robert S. Rantoul in *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, V. pp. 148-152, 193-196, 241 ff, 1863; VI, pp. 25 ff, 79 ff, 1864.

4 Edwin M. Stone, *History of Beverly*. Boston, 1843, pp. 197-198.

5 Shera, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

kept by Elisha Doggett.”<sup>6</sup> The Kirwan books, a collection with a most romantic history, tarried for a time in Beverly, well within the memory of the founders of the Social Library. The scientific books of Dr. Richard Kirwan of Dublin were captured by the Ship *Pilgrim* and sold at auction in Beverly, on April 17, 1781. The purchasers were a group of ministers and doctors; among the former were Joseph Willard, of Beverly, chosen that same year to be President of Harvard College; Manassah Cutler, of Ipswich and Northwest Territory fame; John Prince and Thomas Barnard, of Salem. The doctors numbered Joshua Fisher, of Beverly, later one of the founders of the Social Library, Edward Augustus Holyoke, and Joseph Orne, both of Salem. The books were first installed in Willard’s home, but, on his removal to Cambridge, they were taken to Salem, in the care of Rev. Mr. Prince. There the property of the Philosophical Library Company, as the group was called, remained until the formation of the Salem Athenaeum in 1810.<sup>7</sup>

The actual formation of a proprietary library in Beverly followed the pattern established by the General Court of Massachusetts in its Act of March 3, 1798. During that very year, a new school was being constructed in the town, and it was proposed that a room be included for a library.<sup>8</sup> But it was not until March 12, 1802, that the persons interested in taking shares in such an enterprise met at the town school house, with Nathan Dane, already the town’s most widely-known citizen, as Moderator. A committee of five was chosen, with power to select and purchase books, for which purpose a dollar was to be levied on each share. In addition to Dane, the com-

6 *Proceedings at the Opening of the New Library Building* . . . Beverly, 1913, p. 9. Woodberry mentions a published list of Doggett’s books, numbering four hundred titles, but this has not been found.

7 Harriet S. Tapley, *Salem Imprints, 1768-1825*, The Essex Institute, 1927, pp. 248-256. The books were merged with those of an earlier social library of Salem, and have never been segregated. The Philosophical Library Company offered to pay Dr. Kirwan for them, but he refused, stating that he was glad they had been put to such good use.

8 *The Beverly Citizen*, January 9, 1875; an historical account called forth by the remodeling of the Town Hall.

mittee consisted of Joseph McKeen, the Congregational minister; Joshua Young, the Baptist minister; Dr. Joshua Fisher and Thomas Davis.<sup>9</sup> In order to make this action legal, a petition was presented to Thomas Bancroft, Justice of the Peace, asking permission to form a society or body politic, and requesting that a warrant be issued calling a meeting for April 9. The signers of the petition, in addition to Dane, Fisher, and McKeen, were Asa Leech, Benjamin Lovett, Jr., Robert Rantoul, and Joseph Batchelder. The warrant was granted as a matter of course and the meeting on April 9 was duly held. On this occasion, Dr. Elisha Whitney was Moderator and Thomas Stephens, Clerk; and five dollars was assessed on each share, "inclusive of what has been paid." On April 13 the original committee of five was asked to draw up by-laws, and at this point we may stop to consider the founders and their financial arrangements more closely.

One hundred and thirty-two shares, at five dollars a share, were divided among seventy-two subscribers.<sup>10</sup> Nathan Dane, prominent lawyer, and Israel Thorndike, successful merchant, each took twelve shares. It is interesting to note that each was later a benefactor of Harvard University, Thorndike through the purchase of the Ebeling collection of books on American history, and Dane by his endowment of a law professorship. The names of other merchant families, who, like Thorndike, were to move to Boston, are represented by Joseph Lee (4 shares), John Cabot (3 shares), and Lydia Cabot (3 shares). The colorful Doctor Fisher, who served on a privateer during the Revolution, was the first President of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and also endowed a Harvard professorship, subscribed to three shares. Some sixty-one persons, including Robert Rantoul, held one share each; thus the support of the new library was by no means confined to a few.

The committee on by-laws performed its duties well. The officers, to be chosen at the annual meeting the first

<sup>9</sup> McKeen and Young both left Beverly before the end of the year, the former to become President of Bowdoin College.

<sup>10</sup> A framed share, dated November 25, 1841, and signed by William Crosfield, Clerk, is to be seen in the present Library.



Monday in April, were to consist of three trustees (of whom the eldest was to be chairman), a clerk, and a treasurer. Among other duties, the trustees were to "prevent the admission of improper books, by any means into the Library." They were empowered to give shares to the librarian, to each minister in town, and to the schoolmaster. The librarian "shall keep an alphabetical catalogue of the books belonging to the library, with the price of each, as valued by the trustees. He shall attend at least one hour in every week to deliver books." Each share entitled its holder to an octavo volume at a time, and for purposes of comparison, a folio was to equal two quartos, a quarto to equal two octavos, and an octavo two volumes of lesser fold. The borrowing period was limited to four weeks, with a fine of ten cents a week thereafter. All books were to be returned for the annual meeting, a requirement which persisted into the early years of the public library. The Clerk was to receive ten cents for making out a certificate, and forty cents for effecting a transfer. Other laws, dealing with loss of or injury to books, differed little from those we know today. These laws were adopted at a meeting on April 15, and at the same time Stephens was appointed Clerk and Treasurer, and Fisher, Dane, and Davis were chosen Trustees.

There still remained the tasks of procuring books, a room in which to house them, and a person to look after them. With the original assessment of five dollars, plus an additional one of a dollar, voted in 1803, the Trustees had \$792.00 to expend on books and the publication of a catalog. That the books selected followed the pattern of other social libraries of the time is evident from the catalog, issued in 1805.<sup>11</sup> Titles representing travel, biogra-

<sup>11</sup> *Laws and Regulations for the Social Library in Beverly*. Salem, printed for Joshua Cushing, 1805. In this pamphlet, numbering 16 pages, titles are arranged alphabetically by author, with the number of volumes and size indicated for each item. The Library's copy belonged to Robert Rantoul. The volumes of the Social Library which have survived are now in locked cases on the second floor of the present Library. They do not represent the whole collection, nor is there any indication of the date that they were originally acquired. For the content of the social libraries of the time see Shera, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-114. A copy of this catalog, annotated by Thomas Whitredge, 1828, is in the Essex Institute.

phy, history, belles lettres, and practical arts are much in evidence; those for sermons and theology, though present, are not as numerous as might be supposed. In this, the first Social Library of Beverly differed from two others established in Beverly Farms, an outlying district, but a few years later. For their regulations state that "the library shall contain no novels, romances, nor plays, but consist principally of the serious productions of Calvinistical divines."<sup>12</sup> The town granted the Library the use of the spare room on the lower floor of the town house, adjoining the grammar school room.<sup>13</sup> This was a convenient arrangement, allowing the greater part of the monies raised to be spent for books. Finally, in 1804, Silas Stickney, teacher of the grammar school, was chosen Librarian and Collector. No mention is made of his salary, but a year later it was voted that he "receive the same for his services as last year."<sup>14</sup> The Beverly Social Library was now ready to provide books for its members and, indirectly, for the town.

The newly formed Library benefited from the continuous service of a few capable persons. Robert Rantoul,

12 *Regulations of Beverly Second Social Library*. Salem, printed for Joshua Cushing, 1806. The books are listed by size, and a Biblical catechism is included. The regulation quoted goes on to specify: "as Baxter, Flavel, Henery Watts, Doddridge, Edwards, Bellamy, Hopkins, and the like." Another provision, based on the livelihood of many of its members, was: "a proprietor may carry to sea any book not valued at above one dollar and fifty cents, and retain it till a week after his return, provided the whole time do not exceed six months." The similarity of regulations makes it likely that both Second and Third Social Libraries were at Beverly Farms, and one may have been an outgrowth of the other. Nothing more has come to light on the Second Social Library, but the records of the Third (1806-1842) are preserved in the Beverly Farms Branch Library. The original subscription was only three dollars, assessments were usually ten cents, and the librarian received 75c (later increased to \$1.25).

13 This was on Briscoe Hill, where the present Briscoe or Junior High School is.

14 Woodberry states that the librarian was paid ten dollars a year. This was the amount being paid in the 1830's, for which the treasurer's accounts have survived. Silas Stickney was the great-great-grandfather of Miss Marjorie H. Stanton, the present Librarian. Since the rooms were adjoining, it was natural for the school teachers to serve as librarians. Andrew Peabody was one who served thus from 1809 to 1813.

who became Treasurer and Clerk in 1807, served in that capacity until 1836, and continued his interest in the Library until it was absorbed into the Public Library. His influence was extensive, for of the librarians, who served for fairly brief periods of time, one, Andrew Peabody, was his brother-in-law, and another, William Endicott, was his son-in-law. His own son, Robert, Jr., served as a Trustee in 1829.<sup>15</sup> Nathan Dane continued as a Trustee until 1823 and Rantoul states that he (Dane) "took much of the management upon himself." Thomas Davis served as Trustee until 1824, and Abiel Abbot, minister of the First Church, elected a Trustee in 1804, continued until his death in 1829. He was followed by his successor as minister, Christopher T. Thayer, who remained a Trustee until the Library ceased to exist.<sup>16</sup> Thus although the doctors came again on the board in the 1820's and 1830's, in the persons of Abner Howe (1823), Wyatt C. Boyden (1824), and Augustus Torrey (1831), the ministers were not completely eclipsed, as Professor Woodberry would have us believe.<sup>17</sup> In the church, on the school committee, through private organizations, and in many other ways, these men who managed the affairs of the Social Library were accustomed to meet. Such homogeneity among the administrators of town affairs was still characteristic of New England.

As far as the minutes go, it would appear that the Social Library practically ran itself, but many routine matters must have been taken care of during informal meetings of Trustees and Librarian. At the annual meetings, officers were elected, assessments voted (invariably either twenty-five or fifty cents), and occasionally other matters of business considered.<sup>18</sup> In 1826, it was voted to extend

15 Young Rantoul contributed to two other types of library; he edited a Workingmen's Library, issued by the lyceums, and compiled two series of a Common School Library, published under the sanction of the Massachusetts Board of Education.

16 This Church, formerly Congregational, became Unitarian in Thayer's time. Rantoul was an active member, holding several offices.

17 Woodberry, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

18 An assessment of 25c was voted in 1809; 50c in 1813, 1816, 1822, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1828, 1830, 1832, and 1834; thereafter 25c was voted yearly.

the loan period to eight weeks, but two years later it was necessary to restrict the time for keeping new books to only two weeks. Evidently difficulty was experienced from the reserving of books, and in 1838 it was decided to stop the practice. Some time after 1841, when the former home of Cabot and Thorndike was remodeled into a new town hall, the Library was moved to quarters there. By 1843, when Stone published his *History of Beverly*, the number of volumes had increased to one thousand, and the shareholders to more than one hundred. He writes:

The library is supplied with several of the most valuable foreign and domestic periodical publications, and books are added from time to time by the trustees, who are invested with discretionary powers. The utility and benefit of this institution were sensibly felt soon after its establishment, when books were comparatively scarce and costly, affording, as it did, to many families, the perusal of valuable books not readily elsewhere found; and its usefulness is constantly increasing.<sup>19</sup>

However, there were now other libraries in Beverly providing books to a selected clientele. "The Mechanics' Association," writes Stone, "possess a select and increasing library, which affords the means of intellectual improvement to its members." It was kept in the same room with the Social Library in the town hall, and to avoid confusion, the Association books were delivered on Thursdays, the Social Library books on Saturdays. Among the church libraries, Stone reported that the one belonging to the First Church was the most valuable.<sup>20</sup> He mentions in passing a circulating library kept by Stephens Baker, but he is particularly pleased with the School District libraries, fostered by a grant from the state in 1842. And he closes his section on libraries with

19 Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 121. References in the following paragraph are to this and the succeeding pages.

20 This collection was added to the Social Library in 1852. "This was done," Rantoul wrote, "in pursuance of a vote of the Brethren of the Church with the view of placing the books in a more accessible situation that they might be more generally read. The proprietors of the Library to be allowed the use of them in conjunction with the members of the Church."



L A W S  
AND  
REGULATIONS  
FOR THE  
SOCIAL LIBRARY,  
IN  
BEVERLY.

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SALEM :  
PRINTED BY JOSHUA CUSHING.  
1805.

TITLE PAGE OF SOCIAL LIBRARY LAWS

From the Essex Institute Library



brief mention of "three reading rooms, well supplied with newspapers," and the lyceum.<sup>21</sup> Many townspeople must have possessed book collections of varying degree; Rantoul, for example, was a frequent donor of books to the Social Library, and later to the Public Library.

The possessing of library facilities is one thing; the making of good use of them is another; and the proprietors of the Social Library were not wholly content with the situation in Beverly. By 1847, shares were selling at a dollar; many of the founders had died or dropped out, and a decline in interest was to be expected.<sup>22</sup> On April 2, 1849, it was voted that "the Trustees be requested to take such measures as they may think proper to increase the interest in the Library." Robert Rantoul, who was one of the few living original proprietors, offers contemporary testimony in his reminiscences, begun about this time.

I think that this collection of books may be a nucleus around which a more generous and liberal supply may at some future time be gathered. It wants the particular attention of some enterprising individual, who has a taste for reading himself and who feels strongly the desire of promoting reading among others, to set about a revival of that interest which was felt by many at its first days . . . Some public spirited young man may appear who will have somewhat of the zeal and ardour which actuated several nearly a half a century ago, in founding this Library, and by devoting himself to the object may make it what it should be, in consequence of the growth of the town, an object of interest, of ornament and of general utility. Nothing is wanting but a generous effort.

Already the ideal of a truly public library was being put forth; in 1848, the Legislature authorized the founding of a public library in Boston, although several years were to elapse before it became a reality. On April 7, 1851, the proprietors of the Beverly Social Library voted:

21 Robert Rantoul and Wyatt C. Boyden both delivered lectures to Lyceum groups; they were also both members of the School Committee.

22 Shera, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

that the Trustees be requested to devise some plan by which the present Library may be enlarged by soliciting donations in Books or money from our own citizens or others who may be allied to the town by birth, descent or otherwise, with a view to ultimately establish a permanent public library for the benefit of our Citizens—and report at an adjournment of this meeting.

The adjourned meeting was held on April 19, with Robert Rantoul as Moderator. It was decided to await action of the Legislature, or, as Rantoul put it, "nothing effectual was done." However, the Legislature did move, and on May 24, passed the act enabling Massachusetts towns to appropriate monies to support public libraries.<sup>23</sup>

It was now time for some of the townspeople to take matters into their own hands. The warrant for the town meeting in March, 1854, contained an item, "To see if the Town will establish and maintain a public library . . ." on petition of John I. Baker and others.<sup>24</sup> The petition was referred to a large committee, consisting of Hooper A. Appleton, Eben H. Moulton, Edwin Foster, Joseph Conant, Joseph E. Ober, Gideon Cole, Rufus Putnam, William Porter, Thomas A. Morgan and Levi A. Abbott. This committee reported on April 3 the following recommendations: that \$500 be appropriated; that a committee of one from each school district chosen by ballot select and purchase books and fit up a room; that a Board of Trustees consisting of five persons be chosen annually by ballot; and that branches be established if advisable. No action was taken on the report, but the following year it was voted at the annual meeting that "\$100 be appropriated toward establishment of a public library to be located in the Library Room in the Town Hall." And at an adjourned meeting on April 2, five trustees were elected, with provision that one (chosen by lot) go off the Board each year; trustees might also be reelected. It was

23 Rev. John B. Wight, the chief proponent of the measure, sent a circular letter to all the towns in the state describing the Act and its results. Shera, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

24 Baker was a Representative in the Massachusetts Legislature in 1852. Ever active in the town's political affairs, he served as its first mayor in 1894.



voted that the trustees could use the credit of the town to the extent of \$500, "as they may receive in cash donations during the present year for the Library." It was generally understood that the Social Library books would come to the Public Library, but some time was to elapse before this was accomplished. Thus, four years after the permissive state law, the town was definitely committed to the provision of public library service.

The persons chosen as Trustees for the delicate task of establishing the Library were William Endicott, Jr., Charles W. Galloupe, Dr. Charles Haddock, Benjamin O. Peirce, and Richard P. Waters.<sup>25</sup> They met on April 14, choosing Waters as President and Peirce as Secretary, and selecting Charles S. Giddings as Librarian. The following committees were set up: donations (Haddock, Galloupe, and Endicott); to confer with the Social Library Trustees (Peirce and Endicott); to draft rules (Endicott and Haddock). Meanwhile, the proprietors of the Social Library had directed their Trustees (Rev. Christopher T. Thayer, Edward Pousland, and Charles Davis) to confer with the Public Library authorities. On July 16, the proprietors voted "to deposit with the Trustees of the Free Public Library of the Town, all the books and other interests—subject to withdrawal, at discretion by the Social Library." This the Public Library Trustees declined, stating that it would be difficult to keep the books separate. With their room appropriated by the new Library, it was a foregone conclusion that the proprietors of the Social Library would give up its books; the only question was whether they would sell them or present them. Robert Rantoul's description of the final meeting describes the outcome.

The Trustees of the Town Library having refused to receive the Social Library as a deposit, a meeting of the Proprietors of the Social Library was held, on Saturday evening, the 6th day of October, 1855, when it was voted, with one dissentient, after a protracted discussion, that the whole property of the

25 An evaluation of the services of individual Trustees, especially those who served any length of time, will be made later in this article.

Social Library (after the debts were paid) should be given to the Town Library. I attended the first Proprietors Meeting of the Social Library in 1802 and I attended this meeting, which will probably be the last, October 6th, 1855. I have attended about two thirds of the annual meetings of the Proprietors. There is only one, besides myself of the original proprietors living in Beverly viz Livermore Whittridge. There are three others living in other towns viz Nathaniel Goodwin, in Plymouth, Abner Chapman, in Malden, and Josiah Batchelder in Falmouth, Maine. At the last meeting there was a considerable of an effort on the part of some to get a vote of the Proprietors to sell the property and dissolve the corporation but notwithstanding the arguments of some leading individuals this was overruled by a large majority and the final vote to *give* was passed by yeas and nays, there being more than 40 votes represented by proxy. C. T. Thayer, Luke Morgan and myself were the principal advocates for giving and Edward Pousland and Thomas Pickett for selling.

The Trustees of the Public Library agreed to assume the debts of the Social Library, which it was estimated would not be more than \$25. When the books were finally inspected, with a view to incorporation with those of the Public Library, it was discovered that many were in poor condition, were incomplete, or of little value. Haddock estimated that the circulation of the six hundred accepted would not exceed 2% of the books on the new library's catalog. However, lest the Social Library be dismissed on such a disappointing note, we would quote once again from Robert Rantoul, who summed it up thus: "I rank this institution as among my most beneficial services for the public, and as resulting from a conviction that I was performing a good service for myself and my fellow citizens." It is certain that without the Social Library the Public Library could not have come as easily and quickly as it did.

On April 21, 1855, the Subscriptions Committee issued a circular, "To the Citizens of the Town of Beverly." Referring to the Act of the Legislature of 1853 (evidently in error for 1851), the Committee stated their belief as

to the chief reason for a public library in the following two paragraphs:

The importance of having such an Institution in a community like Beverly, where our youth and young men especially may have an opportunity to cultivate a taste for reading, and for the acquirement of useful knowledge, is too manifest to need argument. The influence of such moral and intellectual culture, will commend its favorable consideration to every lover of his race, extending, as it does, far beyond any mere human calculation; and not only does this object commend itself to the Christian Moralist and Philanthropist, but to the Political Economist, who knows full well the powerful agency of Education, in protecting society from the evils of ignorance and its fearful train of destructive consequences.

Perhaps the strongest argument to be urged in behalf of this measure, is the useful and agreeable employment it will offer to the unoccupied leisure of the young. As affording a profitable source of recreation, and thereby lessening the temptation to amusements of an unworthy character, of a frivolous and idle waste of time, or of positive dissipation, it seems to us that the effect can be only of a salutary nature. Nothing can be more true, than that the best means for destroying a taste for a lower pleasure, is by cultivating a taste for a higher, and that it is a wiser economy to aim at removing the causes of vice, than to deal only with effects.

They concluded with the statement, "Other Towns are already reaping the benefits of similar institutions, many of which have been richly endowed, by the noble generosity of residents or natives of those places," and an appeal to the citizens of Beverly to do the same. The Circular was effective, for subscriptions were so numerous the Trustees had to ask the town for an additional room for books. When all were in, it was found that a total of \$2,643 had been raised.<sup>26</sup> Rantoul headed the list with one hundred dollars, and he reports that Dr. Ingalls Kitredge, William Larabee, Charles W. Galloupe, William

<sup>26</sup> The report of the Committee on Subscriptions indicates that there were 10 of \$100, 7 of \$50, 43 of \$25, 5 of \$15, 4 of \$10, and 3 of \$5. By March of 1857 all the subscriptions had been received except for \$250, and \$100 of this was secured by a note due in July.

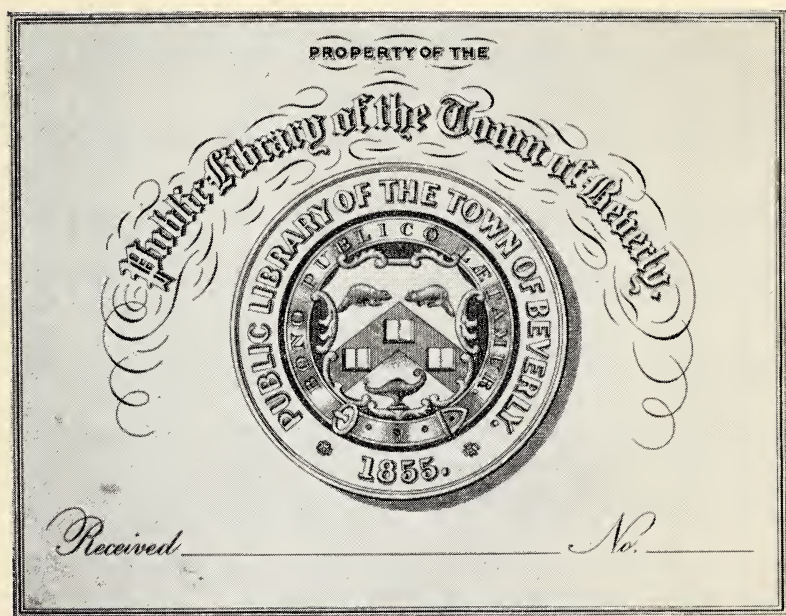
Endicott, Jr., Augusta Ober, George W. Abbot, Edward Burley, Samuel Haskell (of New York) and T. B. Woodberry gave similar sums. The town's contribution of \$500 had been matched several times over.

The next few months were busy times for the Trustees, who had to fit out the rooms, select books, draw up rules, and organize a library, in addition to carrying on their own occupations. Quite properly, the selection of books was looked upon as their major task. On November 17, Peirce, Galloupe, and Endicott were designated a committee to draw up a list of books, and they were authorized to seek aid from the Librarian of the Boston Mercantile Library Association and others. The committee reported on December 19, with Peirce dissenting. It appears that the other two members wished to go ahead with the purchasing, even though they might not get the lowest prices or the latest editions. The Board accepted the committee's list and authorized an expenditure not to exceed \$2,000. Peirce did not take offense, and the Board continued to delegate to him much of the detailed organization of the Library. When it came time to prepare the first annual report (which Peirce wrote), the Trustees could state that a list of 2500 volumes had been prepared, of which 1305 had been acquired, at a cost of \$1,071.60.<sup>27</sup> Donations amounted to 640 volumes, including the 580 of the Social Library, plus a gift of some fifty volumes of Massachusetts documents from Robert Rantoul. Periodicals were not forgotten, for on September 13, 1856, just four days before the Library was opened, Peirce was asked to subscribe to the principal literary and religious reviews. And on the opening day, Robert Rantoul could report: "The Library contains over 3000 volumes, including about 700 volumes which were formerly the Social Library, and about 200 volumes now belonging to the First Church Library."<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> A few years later the Trustees began to report on the content of the book collection, and it will be considered in this article in that connection.

<sup>28</sup> It appears that Rantoul's memory failed him, for the Social Library books amounted to only 580 volumes, and there is no mention in the records of the First Church books.





SEAL OF THE BEVERLY PUBLIC LIBRARY, 1856



Several meetings of the Trustees were also devoted to a consideration of the regulations, which were finally adopted on December 15, 1855. Because of what they reveal concerning the Beverly Library (and indirectly other public libraries of the period), they are worth describing extensively. The Library was to be open on Saturday afternoon and evening, except for the two weeks preceding the annual examination, which was to be the last Wednesday in February. Persons eligible to borrow books were any inhabitant of the town twenty-one or over, any benefactor of the Library to the amount of \$25 or more, and any inhabitant, twelve to twenty-one, presenting a certificate, signed by parent or guardian. Books of octavo size or larger could be kept three weeks, duodecimos and smaller, two weeks, and books in great demand, one week. A fine of five cents a week was to be incurred for overdue books, and after two weeks, the Librarian was to send for the book. Books of reference were not to be loaned. A liberal provision permitted an applicant, if a book were not in the Library, to give the name of the author and other information, if available, to the Librarian. The duties of the latter are also of interest. He was to arrange the books on the shelves "in an order convenient for use" and to prepare an alphabetical catalog. He was to keep a record of the time a book was purchased, its cost, the name of any donor, and similar information. Finally, each book was to have the Library's name and its number marked on it, to have a bookplate affixed, and an abstract of the rules pasted on the cover.

These details could not be carried into effect all at once, especially since the Librarian, Charles S. Giddings, died in February, and his successor, Charles Davis, resigned before the Library was finally opened.<sup>29</sup> On February 25, 1856, the Trustees paid tribute to Giddings, who "had served gratuitously with promptness and exactness." And on March 8, they thanked William Thorndike for his help in arranging books, and the eight ladies who covered and labeled books. The town, at its annual meeting in March,

<sup>29</sup> This was probably the Charles Davis who served as Trustee of the Social Library from 1853 to 1855. James Hill was chosen Librarian on September 13, to succeed Davis.

1856, reelected Waters a Trustee, and the Board in turn reelected him President, while Peirce continued as Secretary.<sup>30</sup> However, Trustee Galloupe resigned shortly after the town meeting, and the remaining Trustees had some difficulty in finding a temporary successor.<sup>31</sup> They were more successful in the matter of a bookplate, which was designed by Peirce and is still in use.<sup>32</sup> The final obstacle to the opening of the Library was surmounted when a catalog, to sell for 25¢, was issued.<sup>33</sup>

On September 20, 1856, the long-awaited day arrived. Visitors to the town hall that day found the two library rooms, connected by arches, fitted up with shelving for 5,000 volumes, with a railing across the western end, the walls and ceiling papered and varnished, closets for the private documents of Trustees and Librarian, and, though probably not on view, a furnace in the cellar for the exclusive use of the Library.<sup>34</sup> There was an annotated catalog too, showing for each book the author and title, where and when it was published, the shelf, the number of the book on the shelf, the number of volumes, and the size.<sup>35</sup> Let Robert Rantoul tell the story, for his observations do not continue much beyond this date.<sup>36</sup>

Saturday September 20th 1856 The Town Library was opened at 2 o'clock this afternoon for the first time for gen-

30 The Trustees had chosen lots for length of service; Waters was to serve one year, Endicott, two, Haddock, three, Peirce, four, and Galloupe, five.

31 William Thorndike declined, and Warren Tilton was chosen on September 13, but he seems not to have served. The Trustees were empowered to fill a vacancy temporarily, and their choice was generally confirmed at the next town meeting.

32 The bookplate shows two beavers, three books, and a lamp of knowledge, surrounded by the motto "bono publico laetamur." As Woodberry points out, this was a learned pleasantry of Peirce's, since the initials stand for Beverly Public Library.

33 *Catalogue of the Public Library of the Town of Beverly.* Salem, T. J. Hutchinson, Printer, 1856. The pamphlet numbers 38 pages; the entries, giving author and title only, are alphabetical. The numbers for the shelf, the particular book, and the volume appear in the left-hand margin.

34 The cost of the renovation was \$302.92, and the floor was left for a future time.

35 Haddock worked on the catalog; he sent a note to Peirce on April 17, indicating what he thought it should contain.

36 He died on October 24, 1858.



CATALOGUE

OF THE

PUBLIC LIBRARY

OF THE

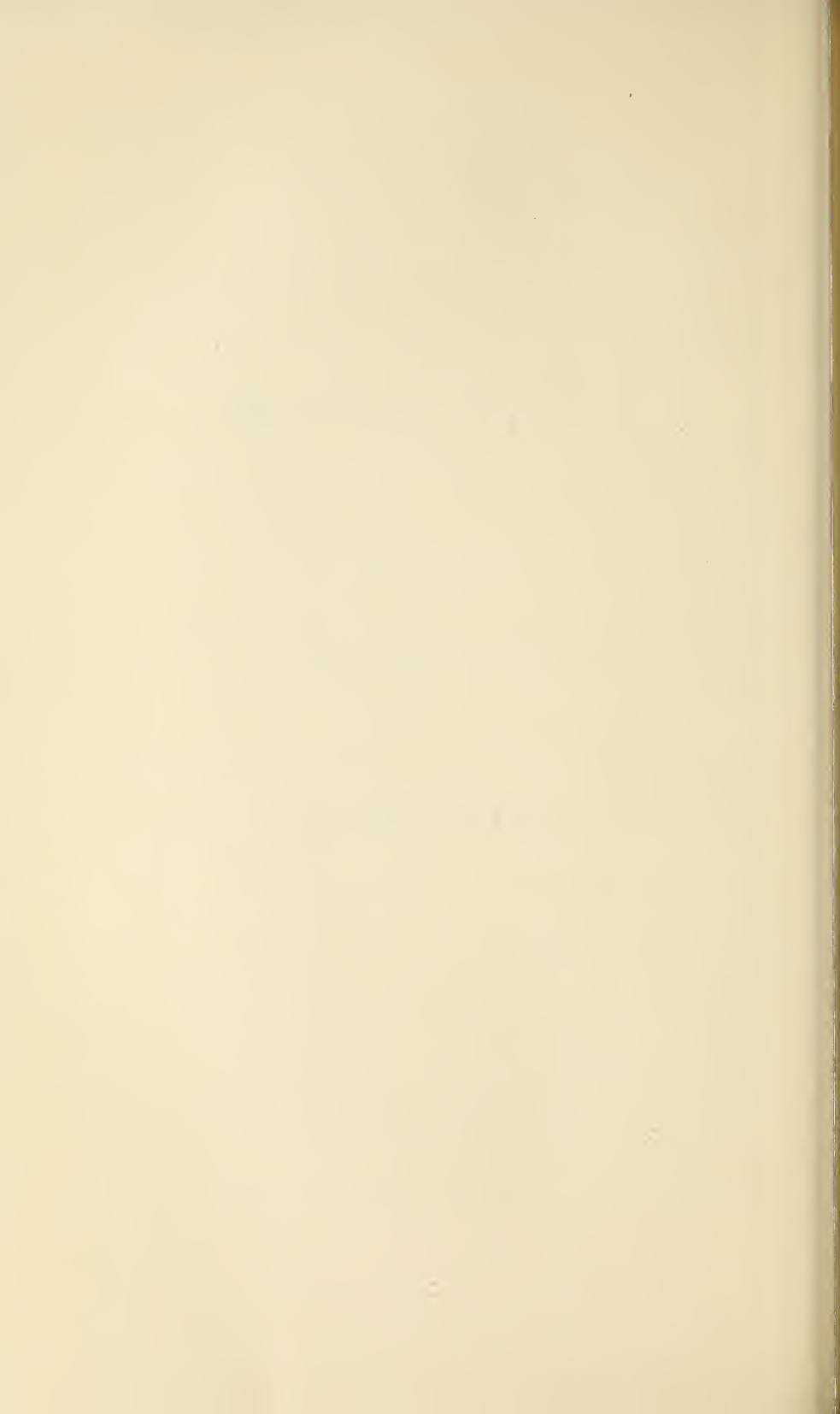
TOWN OF BEVERLY.



SALEM:  
T. J. HUTCHINSON, PRINTER,  
OPPOSITE ESSEX HOUSE.  
1856.

TITLE PAGE OF CATALOGUE OF BEVERLY PUBLIC LIBRARY

Courtesy of the Beverly Public Library



eral use. I attended at that time with my daughter Hannah who then subscribed the regulations and took out the 2nd Volume of *Memoirs of Sidney Smith*. I subscribed the regulations on the 17th September . . . . There was a goodly number of persons to take books at the opening and there were about 200 volumes taken out in the afternoon and evening. This propitious beginning induces the belief that its utility will be great.

Thus, almost a year and a half after the initial steps had been taken, the careful preparations bore fruit.

The town now had a Public Library, but that institution could not run indefinitely on its original momentum. For approximately the next fifteen years (or until 1870) the Trustees were concerned with getting adequate support for the new Library. By that time also, the original Trustees had all left the Board, and a new group, most of whom were to remain well into the 1890's, had joined it. Richard P. Waters, who, though President of the Board, seems not to have been very active, resigned in 1858, and his place was taken by Franklin Leach, who was to serve until his death in 1894, all but the first two years of that time as Secretary. William Endicott, Jr., Rantoul's grandson and another of the original Trustees, performed his share of committee work until 1857, when it appears that his business and charitable interests in Boston required his resignation. He was succeeded by Joseph D. Tuck, who was a nephew of Nathan Dane and an uncle of George Edward Woodberry. Tuck was to serve until 1899, most of this time as Treasurer, the longest period of service of any Trustee. Dr. Haddock was an active member of the Board during its early years, following Waters as President from 1857 to 1860. But he seems to have been able to devote less time to its activities after that, and did not seek reelection in 1868, near the end of the period now under consideration. Peirce, the remaining original Trustee, was the one to whom many of the tasks were delegated, especially in the area of book selection. Professor Woodberry states that "to him the library owes especially its early possession of an admirable stock of the translations of Latin and Greek authors,

whose works are the main foundation of human wisdom up to the Reformation, and also a goodly proportion of the English literature since the Reformation.”<sup>37</sup> He followed Haddock as President, from 1860 to 1864, but resigned in 1866, also near the end of this preliminary period. Meanwhile, Joseph C. Dodge had been elected by the town in 1857 to succeed Galloupe, but he lived only until 1862, and was followed, first by John B. Hill (1863-1864), then by Edward H. Moulton (1864-1869). There was as great a turnover among early Librarians as Trustees, for James Hill, who was appointed just before the Library was opened, served only until 1859, even though the Librarian was by then being paid \$150. a year.<sup>38</sup> He was followed briefly by Frederic Leach; then by H. A. P. Torrey, who served until 1862, when Mr. Tuck was able to bring a certain stability to the job.

It took the Trustees a few years to discover how much money would be needed to support the Library. In March, 1857, when library service had been provided for only six months, the Trustees were able to report that 10,248 books had been delivered to 1,190 persons, or 512 volumes a week. They asked for \$300. to cover the Librarian's services, rebinding, and purchase “to a moderate amount of the current literature of the year.” The town voted this sum, and the following year the Trustees could report that 176 volumes had been added by purchase and 123 by gift (largely from Charles G. Loring). They now asked only enough money for running expenses (\$435.96), leaving the appropriation of money for new books up to the town. This was a mistake, for the town meeting granted the Library only what was asked. So the following year they requested, in addition to the usual running expenses, \$100 “for completing sets;” this amount was granted. In March, 1861, the Trustees could report that the “Community [is] every year demanding a better class of books

37 Woodberry, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Peirce, a man of considerable scholarly attainments, had taught in the south for some years, because of his health. His son, Benjamin Osgood Peirce, was Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Harvard.

38 The salary was at the rate of \$200 a year in 1857, but then went back to \$150, where it remained until 1870.



for study and reading." And in 1862, they prepared a defense of the book collection; but before considering this, we may look at some of the Library's housekeeping details.

The Library was evidently a busy place, for in February, 1859, Messrs. Tuck and Leach recommended that a partition be built "so that only one at a time should approach the Librarian." And in January of the following year \$5. was voted for assistance to the Librarian, to be increased to \$10. thereafter. But the greatest activity was in the cataloging and classifying of the books. As early as February, 1859, Tuck recommended a catalog on cards, and in August it was decided that the title page should be literally and accurately transcribed on each card. In December, 1861, a step backward was taken when it was voted that the books be arranged by numbers, in accordance with the numbers of the accession catalog.<sup>39</sup> However, this vote was rescinded, and by April, 1862, when Tuck became Librarian, the decimal system of classification by subjects on ranges and shelves was adopted.<sup>40</sup> There were to be six main divisions, Moral Science and Theology, Education and General Literature, History, Biography, Geography and Travels, and Novels and Tales. And this same year a new printed catalog was issued, its 108 pages contrasting with the 38 pages of the 1856 catalog.<sup>41</sup>

The time-honored objection to the circulation of light literature troubled the Trustees when they came to prepare their report to the town in 1862. They were pleased to state that the "tastes of the applicants are gradually

39 At this meeting, held on December 18, they adjourned to the 25th, but no meeting was held on that day!

40 This was a fixed-location system. The Dewey classification first appeared in 1876. See footnote 45 for the subjects of the nine ranges.

41 *Catalogue of the Public Library of the Town of Beverly*. Boston, printed by C. C. P. Moody, 1862. The rules state that the Library will be open to adults and minors Wednesday afternoons, and to adults only Saturday afternoons and evenings. Numbers indicating the range, the location of the particular volume, etc., appear in the right-hand margin. On July 31, the Trustees voted "Thanks and \$25. to Mr. S. T. Lamb for help in preparing catalogue."

directed to books of a higher character than formerly." By testing fifteen hundred volumes taken in catalog order, they discovered the following proportions per thousand: education and general literature, 73 volumes; novels and tales, 174; poetry and dramatic works, 40; natural philosophy, 12; natural history, 28; natural science, 5; politics and laws, 48; moral science and theology, 170; agriculture and mechanics, 39; fine arts, 2; history, 179; biography, 131; geography and topography, 27; travels and voyages, 72. Or expressed in percentages, narrative and descriptive works equalled two-fifths; books on the arts of life, one twenty-fifth; natural sciences, one twenty-fifth; intellectual and moral sciences, including theology, one-fifth; general literature, one-fourteenth; poetry, one twenty-fifth; novels and tales, one-sixth. In contrast to Beverly's one-sixth, the Boston Public Library contained between one-fourth and one-fifth prose fiction. The Trustees had seen the 1861 report of the Secretary of the Board of Education for Massachusetts, containing statistics of public libraries.<sup>42</sup> Although Beverly is not mentioned there, they felt that its collection compared favorably with those of towns of similar size. They concluded their report by stating that \$400. annually was needed to maintain the Library in its present position; the town granted \$200., the smallest sum of any year.

Since the *Catalogue* of 1862 cost \$286.75, the Library began the year 1863 with a substantial deficit. Books frequently in use were beginning to need repairs, and binding costs were approaching \$50. a year. The Trustees repeatedly urged greater care in the use of books; in their annual report for 1868 they stated that \$600. had been spent over seven years on replacing or rebinding books. Magazine subscriptions were averaging \$25. a year; in November, 1864, the following titles were approved: "Atlantic Monthly, Harpers, Eclectic, Hunts Merchants, Lon-

<sup>42</sup> *24th Annual Report of the Board of Education, Together with the 24th Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Board.* Boston, 1861. Chapter 33, pp. 149-163, deals with public libraries. The five libraries established in 1855, besides Beverly, were in the towns of Harvard, Newburyport, Framingham, Woburn and Lenox.

don Society, North American Review, [and] one other English magazine.”<sup>43</sup> A gift of \$300. from Robert Rantoul Endicott in May, 1863, was quickly turned into books.<sup>44</sup> Two boxes of old magazines and pamphlets were sent that summer to the Army, “for the use of our soldiers of the 8th and 40th Regiments.” Trustees and Librarian were able to keep up with the additions, reporting in 1863, that all books were on the accession catalog to number 4,061.<sup>45</sup> They received their reward when, in 1865, the town finally increased its appropriation to \$500. Some of the increase was used for light literature, to replace copies worn out, but \$130.25 was spent for “books not in circulation.” These were reference books, and the Trustees reported more space was needed for their consultation. More shelves were made available in 1867, and in March, 1868, \$3000. insurance was taken out on the books and other library property. The annual inspection of the state of the Library continued, although in 1867 it was transferred from the last Wednesday in February to the last Saturday in June. Its importance is indicated by the fact that Librarian Tuck reported in August, 1869,

43 The following list shows titles of other magazines, given as they appear in the minute book, and the year in which they were first acquired, to 1894. 1866, Macmillan, Temple Bar; 1867, American Naturalist, American Journal of Horticulture, Salem Naturalist; 1870, Galaxy, Every Saturday, Putnam's, Scribner, Overland Monthly; 1871, New Englander, Baptist Quarterly; 1872, Gardners' Monthly, Popular Science Monthly, Cornhill (renewal), Nineteenth Century; 1879, Art Amateur; 1880, Bretanos'; 1884, Weekly London Times; 1885, Cassels Magazine; 1887, Forum, Magazine of Art, Graphic, Life; 1889, Harpers Weekly; 1890, Nation, Critic; 1891, Scientific American, Outing, New England Magazine, St. Nicholas, Cosmopolitan, Lippincott; 1894, Field Sports, Godey's, Pall Mall, Pallisons. Many of these were discontinued after a short period; a few were gifts. Two copies of such popular titles as Atlantic, Harpers, and Scribners were required after 1878.

44 This represented his salary in the Massachusetts Legislature. William R. Cutter, ed., *Genealogical and Personal Memoirs*. New York, 1908, I, p. 140.

45 The report classifies the book collection as follows: reference books, 89 volumes; range 1, arts of life, 202 volumes; range 2, natural history and philosophy, 195; range 3, theology, 261; range 4, travels, 371; range 5, miscellaneous literature, 440; range 6, poetry and drama, 121; range 7, history, 440; range 8, biography, 435; range 9, novels and tales, 686; books not cataloged, 411; magazines not cataloged, 121; total, 3,772.

"the condition of the books in the Library as satisfactory, and that all the books but a few were returned at the annual closing of the Library, and those had been sent for."<sup>46</sup> Greater consideration for the Library's public is indicated by the Trustees' concern, in December, 1868, for a supply of books suitable for the Christmas holidays.

Having gained an appropriation of \$500. the Trustees did not stop there; some new members came to reinforce the attack. In 1866, Robert Rantoul Endicott replaced Peirce, "one who has so faithfully and for so long a period generously devoted his time to the interests of the Public Library." William C. Boyden, a son of Dr. Wyatt C. Boyden, took Dr. Haddock's place on the Board in 1868. And Orpheus T. Lamphaer, minister of the Dane Street Church, succeeded Moulton in 1869. In their 1869 report, the Trustees again came to the defense of the use being made of the Library:

The books loaned have been of a more elevated character. There has been an increased demand for poetic, critical, and scientific works among the pupils of the High School, and other young people. The Library is not a source of information merely, but it also improves the manners and elevates the character of those who use it.

. . . The Beverly Library contains a larger proportion of works of a scientific, and educational character, and a smaller proportion of mere story books than almost any other in the country. The proportion of novels purchased annually by the manager of the Boston Library is 55 percent. In the Beverly Library the proportion of works of fiction is only about 17 percent.

Returning to the attack the following year, the Trustees appealed for more money. They cited the town of Watertown as appropriating \$2,000. for the library, while "our stated allowance is about the same as to a primary school of the lowest grade," and continued:

46 The annual examination was a ritual in all types of libraries. It accounts for the story of Sibley, Librarian of Harvard University at this time, and his efforts to get all the books back into the library for the inspection of the examining committee. As the collections grew, the inspection of them became less practical and finally disappeared.



It is worthy of note that the number of Public Libraries is rapidly increasing in the state, and throughout the country. . . . Our Library inherits those which might otherwise be scattered, as the church, and social library, and is the depository of local histories, and narratives of current important events, as our acknowledgements from year to year give evidence. It brings us in communication with all parts of the country.

The percentage of fiction read, they stated, was only 61%; and this was mostly works of standard authors, such as Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, Bulwer, Trollope, Cooper, and Irving, furnishing healthy and instructive reading. This appeal had its effect, for the town appropriated \$1,000. for the use of the Library, thus recognizing the efforts of the Trustees over a period of fifteen years.

When Edward L. Giddings succeeded Endicott on the Board of Trustees in 1870, its composition was set for some years to come. Of the five members, Lamphaer was to serve until 1884, Boyden until his death in 1889, Leach until his death in 1894, Tuck until 1899, and Giddings until 1903. A comparison of certain personal statistics is of interest. First, as to occupation; Boyden, Leach, and Giddings had business interests in Boston; Tuck at first kept a book store, then worked in a bank. Politically, Tuck was a Democrat, while Giddings, Leach, and Boyden were Republicans. Lamphaer was a minister of a Congregational Church; Giddings and Boyden were both active members of the Unitarian Church. At one time or another, Tuck, Boyden, and Giddings were members of the School Board. Socially, there were many connections among the men. Albert Boyden, William's son, writes of the Cu(e)rious Club, of which his father, Dr. Charles Haddock, William A. Driver (later a Trustee of the Library), and others were members; and of the Humane Society, devoted to card games, in which Leach, Giddings, and Boyden partook. Of even more interest to us was the Social Reading Club, "with its forty-five members

practically calling the roll of those old Beverly families."<sup>47</sup> There were usually twenty present at its fortnightly meetings, which lasted from 1871 to 1873.

Professor Woodberry, who grew up during this period, recalls the contribution made by some of these men to the Library.

I recall also Franklin Leach. He seemed to me a somewhat eccentric gentleman in spectacles . . . He had a taste for French history and memoirs, and also for art. It was under his régime that the library formed the habit of giving itself a Christmas present in the shape of some unusually expensive book, preferably with plates, which was the foundation of our art department.

My uncle, Mr. Tuck, was interested in all sorts of books, but especially favored, as did Mr. Leach, books of birds and flowers, eccentricities of literature in the shape of books not likely to be found in all libraries, and books of English life and history.

And he recalls too the contribution the Library made to him.

. . . I was a page in the library when I was about twelve years old . . . I used to go into the library whenever I wished, doing odd jobs like covering books, but more often merely searching the shelves for what I could find. I made there some of the finest discoveries of my life—Byron, for instance. I remember distinctly the first time I found Carlyle, and sat a whole morning on one of those wooden step-ladders reading his essay on Novalis, and going on to Goethe. There in that dingy library, I might almost say, and say truly, that I found the star of my destiny, such as it is.<sup>48</sup>

This is a fine tribute to the breadth of the book collection in the Beverly Public Library during the late 1860's and early 1870's.

The year 1875 marks another turning point in the his-

47 Albert Boyden, *Here and There in the Family Tree*. Privately printed, 1949, pp. 103-105. Mr. Boyden recalls with pleasure the privilege of free access to the Library accorded him and his brothers and sisters. It was a privilege, for children were not then encouraged to take out books.

48 Woodberry, *op. cit.*, p. 15. William Foster, Librarian of the Providence Public Library, had also been a page in the Beverly Library.

tory of the Library, for it was during that year that enlarged quarters were made available in the town hall and the first full-time librarian, a woman, was employed. Since 1870, the town's increased appropriation had meant a considerable increase in the number of books acquired. In the first year alone, \$719.87 was spent to improve the collection in such fields as colonial history, English and Roman history, standard works in science, biography, and general literature, and illustrated works. The yearly budget for books and magazines was then increased to over \$500. To make these new acquisitions available, supplements to the catalog were issued in 1866, 1870 and 1872. The insurance was increased to \$4,000. (1872), then to \$4,200. (1874). A less pleasant note was struck in the report (1871) that an average of seven books a year had been missing for nine years.<sup>49</sup> With so many books being purchased, space soon was insufficient, and the Trustees in 1873, appealed for more room for books, as well as a public reading room for newspapers and magazines. Their appeal was answered within a year, for the town hall was extensively renovated. During operations, the Library Trustees met at the homes of members, while the books were stored in Mrs. Kittredge's barn. The Library was open during only two months of 1874, and the Trustees called on only \$500. of the town's appropriation. But since new rooms were to be available, it was decided to rearrange the books and to prepare a new catalog. Some 2,000 volumes had been added since the 1862 catalog, and work could progress while the Library was closed.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, it was voted that Messrs. Tuck and Leach be a committee to engage a female librarian. On June 1, 1875, Miss Lizzie Baker was appointed, at a salary of \$200. It was decided also to open the Library every after-

49 In the matter of loss of, or damage to, books, the Trustees had a weapon in an Act of the Massachusetts Legislature, dated 1867.

50 *Catalogue of the Public Library of the Town of Beverly*. Boston, printed by Geo. L. Keyes, 1875, 145 pages. Entries are alphabetical by author, and numbers are given in the right-hand margin. The first figure indicates the range, the second, the particular work, the third, the volume. Mr. E. Ellingwood Torrey was employed to work on the catalog in February, 1875.

noon, from two to five, with the exception of Sundays and legal holidays, and on Saturday evenings, from seven to nine.

When the new rooms were opened on June 5, 1875, this is what the townspeople found:

The delivery room is finished with a counter and ceiling in ash and black walnut trimmings, and the reading room in front is also ceiled in the same manner, except that the old chimney with all its elaborate finish of the last century remains. The shelves in the book room are of ample capacity and their edges are neatly finished in black walnut with cornice at the top of the same.<sup>51</sup>

The fixed-location classification of the books, grouped in nine ranges or alcoves, was maintained. In their next report the Trustees could state that the circulation had nearly doubled, "thanks to improved facilities, new rooms, new catalogue, a lady Librarian, and more frequent opening of the Library." They wished the Library could be open every afternoon and evening, for "we have every facility—a convenient and attractive room, a good Reading Room, the best books and magazines of the day." In the Bureau of Education report of 1876, the Beverly Public Library is credited with 6,000 volumes, 15,000 yearly circulation, but no permanent income.<sup>52</sup>

The next few years represented a further period of consolidation for the Library. The activities of the Trustees fell into an annual pattern: meeting for organization in March or April, following the town's annual meeting; fall sessions devoted to the selection of books and magazines; preparation of the annual report occupying the winter months. A first draft on the town treasurer would be made in the spring, a second in the fall. With a full-time Librarian, the Trustees were able to delegate much detail. Her salary continued at \$200., but she was allowed assistance up to an additional \$50. On July 8, 1882, Miss

51 *Beverly Citizen*, January 16, 1875.

52 U. S. Bureau of Education, *Public Libraries in the United States of America*. Washington, 1876, 1051. This was the year the American Library Association was formed, a measure of the growth of the nation's libraries.



Baker resigned, and the Board appointed Miss Mattie Smith Librarian at the same salary. She was to serve until 1924, a period of 42 years. Gifts were coming in: 123 volumes of Littell's *Living Age* from Mrs. William Whiting in 1880, 37 volumes from the Beverly Farms Book Club in 1881. The Trustees reported in 1884, that "the library is in good condition and is doing the Town good service." During that year the first change in the Board since 1870 took place, when Rev. William H. Davis, minister of the Washington Street Church, was elected in place of Lamphaer. However, he had served less than a year, when Enoch C. Adams, principal of the High School, was chosen in his place. Adams in turn served little more than a year, and was succeeded in 1885 by William R. Driver, who was to remain on the Board well into the twentieth century.

Although provision was made for branches when the Library was established, none had as yet been set up. The most likely place for one was Beverly Farms, which was developing into a fashionable summer resort. The Third Social Library, located there, ceased in 1842, and in later years a Neighbors' Library had grown up. In 1886, the movement for the separation of Beverly Farms from Beverly reached its height, with the question of library service receiving due attention. Fred H. Williams, one of those who argued the case for separation before the Legislature, had this to say of the Library.

Another inconvenience arises in the use of the library, which naturally is located in the town of Beverly, and so far as I know a very fine library of about ten thousand volumes. By reason of this inconvenience of travel, no books, comparatively speaking, are taken from the library by Beverly Farms people. Of course you can readily see that they have been taxed to support that library, and are deriving no benefit from it.<sup>53</sup>

The defense of the Library was made by Trustee Giddings, who testified as a member of the school committee.

<sup>53</sup> *Arguments of Fred H. Williams relative to the Incorporation of the Town of Beverly Farms.* Boston, Press of Stanley & Usher, 1886.

He stated that the Library contained 8,300 volumes, that no application had been made for a branch at Beverly Farms, and that the chief obstacle to establishing one would be lack of money. "I can only say," he concluded, "I know the Farms people have taken books out of the library, and are doing it today to some extent." Boyden was one of those opposing the separation, and the petition was turned down. With the coming of the automobile, the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles distance lost its significance, and by that time provision had been made for branch library service.

Whether a result of the controversy or not, branch service was started at the Farms in a small way in 1886. A Miss Lippin was engaged to receive and deliver books at her store at a price not exceeding \$100. per year, and the Librarian was given an additional \$12.50 for extra labors. In the Trustees' report of 1887, the following expenses are recorded: Miss Lippin, \$43.75; Bell's express twice each way weekly, \$21.10; Librarian added, \$12.50; stock etc., \$17.09; total, \$94.44. It was recommended that the town grant an additional \$200. annually to cover the expenses of the branch; this was done. In 1890, it was reported that there had been one failure to place books properly at the Farms. There the matter rested until 1892, when more permanent arrangements, to be described later, were made.

A further expansion of service occurred in January, 1889, when the Trustees decided to open the Library Tuesday and Thursday evenings, in addition to Saturday evenings. The Librarian was by now receiving \$250. and could employ assistants at  $12\frac{1}{2}\phi$  an hour. But the big job at hand was the publication of a new catalog, for it had been fourteen years since the previous complete one.<sup>54</sup> On August 3, 1889, Leach was authorized to purchase 21 reams of paper, and the Times Printing Company was engaged for the job. On August 17 it was voted to pay "several parties"  $25\phi$  an hour for labor on the new catalog. The Library was closed during the preparation, opening again on Tuesday, September 3. On October 31, the Trustees voted to bind 25 copies of the new catalog in

54 A supplementary Bulletin was issued in 1885.

boards, and to give the Librarian \$75. for extra services in connection with it. The new catalog was arranged by classes, with an author list in the back.<sup>55</sup> Revised regulations appeared in the front, including the new hours of opening, a requirement that all books be returned by the 30th of June, and the rule that books of reference could not be loaned except by permission of two or more Trustees. To pay for the catalog, the book budget was reduced by \$300. that year.

Mr. Boyden died in 1889, aged only fifty-four; his place was taken by George Edward Woodberry, who thus began a long period of service profitable to the Library. Although he was Professor of literature at Columbia University from 1891 to 1904, he was able to devote considerable time to the affairs of the Library. The Trustees' report of 1890 describes an "effort to improve the Library by supplying some deficiencies among the books in certain lines of reading." But the complete details as to this effort were left to the 1891 report, prepared by Woodberry, which is an evaluation of the thirty-five years of public library service in Beverly. Professor Woodberry began the report by indicating the fields in which the Library was strong.

It is believed that in American political and constitutional history there is little of the first importance which the library does not possess, and the same statement may be made, though less broadly, of the political history of England. On standard American literature no author is lacking and in standard English literature few authors of the first rank or of historical importance are unrepresented. Attention has also been given to securing translations of the standard literature of foreign nations, general histories of those periods of the world not already covered, and short popular histories of every nation and epoch, together with similar biographies of great historical characters. A collection of volumes was also made upon the general subject of political economy and especially upon the topics of protection, free trade, labor and capital, and finance.

<sup>55</sup> *Catalogue of the Public Library of the Town of Beverly.* Beverly Times Publishing Co., 1889. The volume, containing 168 pages, was to sell for 5c.

There follows a summary statement of the book collection. During the 35 years, \$13,358. had been spent for 10,967 volumes and 91 pamphlets. All but the pamphlets and 844 volumes, mainly public documents, had been cataloged. Fiction represented 25% of the collection, consisting of 600 standard works, native and foreign; about 600 "authors of the first class of those which will never become classic;" and 1300 "though often excellent [yet] without distinction." Among these last, "read only for their day and soon forgotten," there were few "silly, vulgar, or immoral." More than 50% of the Library's holdings were in the fields of biography, history, literature and travel. The reference collection was excellent, though incomplete, and the Library was weak in science, religion and the industrial and fine arts.

The report then compares the Beverly Library with others in the county and state. Only three other unendowed libraries in Essex County had more volumes, and only two more value. According to the census of 1885, Beverly was 25% below the libraries of the state in number of volumes in proportion to the population. It was 18th in Essex County in this category, 16th in proportion of circulation to population, 10th in use of what volumes it had, and 9th in absolute circulation. Of \$5,500. given by the state to public libraries, Beverly received only \$380., plus the original citizen subscription of \$2,518. To improve the Library's position, the report suggested that the books should be made better known, that gifts should be solicited, that the appropriation of one-half the dog tax should be continued, and that the annual report should be printed.<sup>56</sup> This report is a milestone in the history of the Beverly Public Library, by which past achievement and future growth could both be measured.

The Massachusetts Legislature, by an Act of 1888, provided for an increase in the number of library trustees to

<sup>56</sup> The state had authorized the towns to divide the dog tax between the schools and the library in 1869. Tuck was asked to look into the matter in 1870, but nothing seems to have come of it until 1889. The income from the dog tax averaged \$375. in the 1890's, while fines, which the Library was then permitted to keep, often amounted to \$90. The publication of the Library's annual report began in 1892.



any number divisible by three, not exceeding nine, and a reduction in the term of service to three years. Beverly chose to increase the number of Trustees to six, and in March, 1891, the Board organized as follows: Tuck and Daniel D. Addison, the Episcopal minister, to serve one year; George A. Galloupe and Charles L. Dodge, two years; Giddings and Woodberry, three years. The two outgoing Trustees, Leach and Driver, were allowed to keep their keys to the Library.<sup>57</sup> A new spirit of activity seemed now to pervade the Board. The Librarian's salary was increased to \$300. in 1890, to \$375. in 1892, and to \$400. in 1893. She was given the assistance of a boy afternoons. The catalogue numbers of new books were to be published in the local paper. It was proposed that a new room be added in the rear, and new shelves, tables, and chairs were obtained. Woodberry presented a plan for cataloging, and it was voted that he and Addison carry it out, at a cost of \$200. Giddings proposed an outside sign, and Woodberry suggested shelves in the reading room for public documents. Addison proposed that new books be placed on a counter for the public to see, while Tuck moved that teachers in the town schools be allowed to take out up to ten books for school use. The annual report of 1892 described these improvements, stating that for the first time the books were properly classified and arranged, so that readers could easily find all the Library contained on a given subject. With such evidences of activity, the Trustees felt emboldened to ask for an appropriation of \$2,200., plus one-half the dog tax; this was granted to them.

The town was now ready for an expansion of the branch library service. In July, 1892, delivery stations were set up at North Beverly and Centerville, at a cost of \$75. each. A communication was received from the Neighbors' Library at Beverly Farms, but the Trustees did not feel qualified to accept the proposal. Accordingly, in March, 1893, Will H. Larcom and others petitioned the town for \$1,000. for a reading room at the Farms. Three

<sup>57</sup> Each was to come back on the Board; Leach, from 1892 to 1894, and Driver from 1894 on.

Beverly Farms men, Thomas D. Connolly, William R. Brooks, and Rev. Edwin P. Hoyt, were authorized to meet with the Public Library Trustees concerning the matter. It was estimated that the librarian's salary might be \$400., that a table might cost \$30., a catalog, \$200., shelving, \$50., and books, \$320., making a total of \$1,000. The Neighbors' Library, said to contain about 1700 volumes, with a circulation of 1850 volumes among 219 persons, would become part of the new branch.<sup>58</sup> There was further discussion on April 1, when it was stated that "Mr. W's views were very clear and met with general approval." It was Woodberry's idea that the Public Library could meet the expenses of the new branch out of its regular appropriation. These expenses would include the fitting up of a room, heat, light, expressing of books for four deliveries a week, the librarian's salary, and the provision of certain periodicals and reference books. This arrangement met with approval, and on April 15, Sylvia Bennett was chosen Librarian of the Farms Branch at a salary of \$175. The library was to be open every day, from three to six and seven to nine. Johnson's encyclopedia and Worcester's and Webster's dictionaries were sent to the new branch, as well as such magazines as Harpers, Forum, Outing, Nation, St. Nicholas, Scientific American, and Cosmopolitan.

Following the work begun in 1891, each year some new department was strengthened. In 1893, the Trustees reported that history and literature had been done, and that the past year useful arts and mechanic trades (including machines, fabrics, raw products, chemical and manufacturing processes, and manual training) had been improved. They were also happy to report receipt of a bequest of \$500. from Edward Burley, which thus became the Library's first fund. But they had to report that gas was unsatisfactory for lighting, the heat causing injury to the books. The town responded by installing electricity, at

58 *Catalogue of the Neighbors' Library, Beverly Farms.* Boston, Press of Stanley and Usher, 1888. The pamphlet, numbering 20 pages, sold for 10c. Books are arranged alphabetically by title, with the number in the left-hand margin and the author in the right.

a cost of \$220. In January, 1893, Miss Jennie P. Dodge, whose father was a Trustee, was employed at 12½ cents an hour to assist in the Library. She was placed on an annual salary in September, 1894, and continued to work for the Library until 1943.<sup>59</sup> By 1893, the Library was open every afternoon and evening, except Sundays and holidays, and the additional assistance was welcome. That same year a finding list of fiction was issued; it was distributed free to all families. Circulation was growing (16% in 1892, 25% in 1893), but so were costs, and the Trustees were troubled by this fact.

The town was growing too, and in 1894, it became a city, with John I. Baker as the first mayor.<sup>60</sup> The number of Library Trustees was increased to nine, and Baker departed from precedent by appointing two women. Elizabeth P. Sohier and Katherine P. Loring, representing socially prominent Beverly families, were chosen, with Allen H. Bennett, for a one year term.<sup>61</sup> Driver, Woodberry, and John S. Baker, a son of the Mayor, were appointed for two years, and Giddings, Tuck, and Dodge, for three. The Trustees organized into committees on finance, branches, rooms, and books, with the two ladies a subcommittee on juvenile books. In their report for 1896, they state that "a nucleus for a department for young readers has been established," thus remedying a serious neglect. Furthermore, the books were to be rearranged "upon an improved and modern system, which can be adapted to any building." Upon these modern notes we close our detailed treatment of the Library's development.

59 She replaced a Mr. Turfey. Miss Dodge still resides in Beverly, and recalls the Library when she began work there. The reading area was in front, with three tables; behind were the alcoves, each with its step-ladder to reach all nine shelves.

60 He gave his salary, \$500., to the Library, to be used as the nucleus of a building fund. When the present building was constructed, the money was used towards the cost of the bronze replica of the seal, set in the floor in front of the delivery desk. Woodberry, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

61 Miss Sawyer was a member of the Massachusetts Public Library Commission (established in 1890), and when she died she left the Beverly Library \$10,000., to be used to encourage children's reading.

It is of interest, however, to examine the condition of the Library in 1896, as a measure of the distance it had come. On January 1, 1896, the collection numbered 19,234 volumes. The circulation for 1895 was 41,863 volumes, and the number of borrowers registered was 3,035. Receipts consisted of the city's appropriation of \$2,000., plus \$371.54, which represented one-half the fees for dog licenses. Expenses included \$1,436.11 for books and magazines, and \$1,008.71 for salaries. The Librarian was then receiving \$450., her chief assistant \$275. There was a full-fledged branch at Beverly Farms, and delivery stations at North Beverly and Centerville. The population of the city in 1895 was 11,806, and its valuation \$15,528,835. The city and the Library had grown together, perhaps not always in proportion, but at least there had been an awareness of the Library's needs.

There is not space, nor is it the purpose of this article to describe the subsequent history of the Beverly Public Library—the expansion of the service for children and young people, the generous bequests of Miss Sawyer and of Joseph W. Lefavour, the story of two wars and a depression, the development of service for the sick and shut-in, and all the rest. It must suffice to say that in 1950 the Library numbered 102,752 volumes; that 219,187 volumes were circulated among 11,502 borrowers; and that the appropriation was \$40,513., plus \$1,231.07, representing one-half the dog tax. Miss Marjorie H. Stanton, who has been Librarian since 1924 and is a descendant of the first Librarian, presides over a staff of 16, servicing 1 branch, 4 delivery stations, 3 deposit stations, and 11 school buildings. There is not space, either, to describe the growth of the city (population, 1950, 28,851), the coming of the United Shoe Machinery Corporation, with its own research library, and the effect on library interests of the automobile, the radio, and television. But one event may be singled out for special notice: the Library's move to its own building in 1913. It is a handsome building of brick and marble, facing the Common, not far from the site of Minister Willard's home, where the Kirwan



books were once kept. Professor Woodberry summed up the significance of the move when he wrote:

I am glad, not only for the beautiful building, but even more that it has not come down to us, like a New Jerusalem, from heaven, in the shape of a charitable bequest, but is the growth of our own soil, the fruit of the efforts of generations gone by.<sup>62</sup>

Such self-reliance has been a characteristic of Beverly's library development since the days of the first Social Library. This story has been largely one of devoted service on the part of many persons—Rantoul, Peirce, Boyden, Tuck, Leach, Giddings, Driver, Woodberry, and all the rest, who worked diligently and unobtrusively, so that they and their fellow citizens could have adequate library service.

<sup>62</sup> Woodberry, *op. cit.*, p. 7. The Beverly Farms Branch acquired its own building in 1917.

## VERMONT COUNTY GRAMMAR SCHOOL LANDS

By HARRIET WEBSTER MARR

Vermont historians are justifiably proud that theirs is the only New England state having educational provisions in the original constitution. In fact, only three of the original thirteen states had such provisions: Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Georgia. The first constitution of Vermont was drafted in 1777, before the Revolutionary War was over, and long before Vermont became a state in the Union. Article XL dealt with education, the first thirty-five words being almost identical with the clause on education in the Pennsylvania constitution of the preceding year. The Vermont article read:

A school or schools shall be established in each town for the convenient instruction of youth with such salaries to the masters paid by each town, making proper use of school lands . . . thereby to enable them to instruct youth at low prices; one grammar school in each county, one university in the state ought to be established by the Central Assembly.

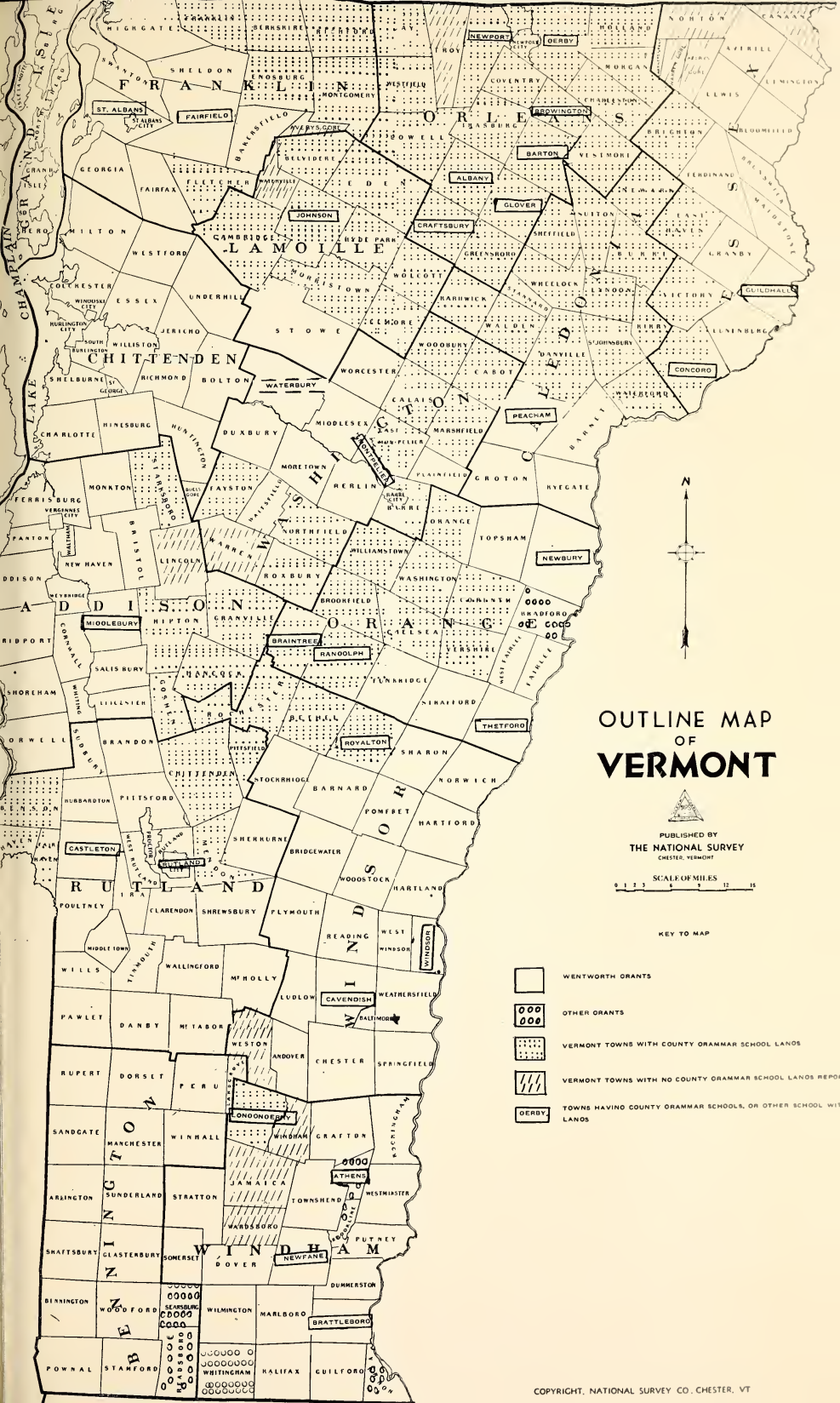
The constitutions of 1789, 1792 and 1793, contained similar provisions in section 64, that:

a competent number of schools ought to be established for the convenient instruction of youth, and one or more grammar schools to be incorporated and properly supported in each county.

Note that the first constitution reads *one* grammar school, and the later documents *one or more*. Of course it is to be understood that a Grammar School was a secondary school where Latin Grammar was studied.

"Properly supported." Strangely enough the law that would in part implement this provision had already been passed. In 1779, when a form of charter for incorporated towns was under discussion, a bill was passed providing that:

in each six mile township one right was to be allotted for the support of a seminary or college within the state, one for the support of a County Grammar School, and one for the support of common school within the town.







In his biography of Ira Allen, J. B. Wilber gives the credit for this legislation to Allen.<sup>1</sup>

Thus at the very beginning of her state history Vermont had not only the conception of an educational system extending from the common school through the University, but had also a scheme for the partial financing of the system through the use of that one source of wealth in the early days of our country—land.

But there were flaws in these plans. The law would necessarily be very uneven in its application, for it applied to towns chartered after 1779, and many towns had already been chartered, especially under the land schemes of Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire, and his charters had no word of land for county grammar schools or state university, though they provided for town schools. How many towns had been chartered by Wentworth is a question much in dispute. Estimates vary all the way from 126 to 259. The accompanying map is based on the one in Prof. Bogart's *Lease Lands of Vermont* and shows that three whole counties, Bennington, Chittenden, and Grand Isle, as well as towns two or more tiers deep along the Connecticut River, the Winooski, and the southern and western boundaries of the state were organized by Wentworth. A comparison with a relief map of the state shows that the area left, where school lands must be set aside, was largely mountainous, or far to the north where there was little to attract settlers. In fact, of the 250 odd towns in Vermont, only 81 were listed in 1878 as having grammar school lands.

Who was to assign the lands? In the case of the Caledonia County Grammar School the charter stated how the lands were to be chosen:

The proprietors of the town are hereby authorized and empowered to locate said rights as justly and equitably or quantity for quality or in such parts of the town as they . . . should judge would least incommode the settlement of the town.<sup>2</sup>

1 J. B. Wilber, *Ira Allen, Founder of Vermont*, Houghton Mifflin, 1928, Vol. I, pp. 145-156, passim.

2 Quoted in *Caledonia County Grammar School, v. Kent*, 83 Vt. 1, 55.

Naturally the town fathers chose in most cases the less desirable portions for school lands. If the town had no grammar school the income of the lands would go out of the town, and more than that, the town would not be allowed to tax the land. Probably the description of the grammar school lands in question in the court case of Caledonia County Grammar School v. Kent, would fit many another school lot.

Lot in question . . . was on a mountain more than four miles from any village, and not easily accessible; no one ever settled on it; and no evidence of occupation appears until [around] 1900. . . . [Caledonia County Grammar School] conceded its trustee had no knowledge of its right to the lot in question until 1908 or early in 1909.<sup>3</sup>

The frontier conditions of settlement in Vermont demanded the labor of the children in most families, so that in spite of the proud clause in the state constitution there was often long delay in founding the County Grammar Schools. Not until eight years after the first Constitution, and six years after the first land law was the first County Grammar School founded at Windsor, in Windsor County in 1785. That school was moved to Royalton in 1807. In 1787, two years after the Windsor school, the Rutland County Grammar School was organized at Castleton, and in 1791 the Windham County Grammar School was planned at Athens, but apparently was never actually in operation. In no one of these three cases was anything said about the county school lands. The three counties where these schools were organized, together with Bennington, which had schools, but no lands, constituted the southern third of the state.

The next County Grammar School established was at Peacham in Caledonia County. Caledonia lies well to the north, and only three of its towns were Wentworth grants. Eventually 17 towns were organized, and in 1878, 14 of them had grammar school lands. The State Constitution would seem to have made these schools the concern of the county, in fact a law of 1782, provided that

3 Ibid, pp. 7-8.

judges of the county courts were to appoint the trustees. But invariably it was the townspeople who started the school. Andrews in his *History of the County Grammar Schools of Vermont* says,

In the belief that either a county court house or a county grammar school would "enhance the glory of the town, and bring substantial advantage" certain leading citizens inserted in the warning for town meeting—Whether the town would authorize the building of a Court House, or a County Grammar School, or any other public building.<sup>4</sup>

There was evidently a difference of opinion, but finally the town voted for the grammar school. The same thing happened in other places; citizens of the towns started the movement, and signed the petition to the State Legislature; the Legislature in turn appointed them as trustees, ignoring the law of 1782, that county judges should appoint the trustees. Andrews says he found no instance where the trustees were appointed by the judges.

The charter of Peacham was the first to mention the grammar school lands, and grant them to a specific school.

Fully empowered to hold and lease the lands lying in the said county granted for the use and benefit of said county grammar school. Provided that this act shall not be construed to give the county grammar school of Caledonia a right to any more than an equal proportion with the other counties of this State of the neat (sic) proceeds or avails of the land granted for the use of county grammar schools in said state whenever future legislatures shall by a law for that purpose so order and dividend the same.<sup>5</sup>

Either the legislators at this date did not anticipate the organization of more than one grammar school in a county, or some lawyer drawing up this document for Peacham was unusually clever, for, as we shall see, in certain court cases later this document was so construed as to give the sole right to the lands in the county to Peacham. The report of the State Superintendent of

4 E. D. Andrews, *County Grammar Schools of Vermont*, p. 130. *Proceedings of Vermont Historical Society*, 1936, New Series 4, No. 3.

5 Laws of Vermont, 1795, pp. 26-29.

Education in 1880, shows all the income from the grammar school lands in the county as going to Peacham.

In 1797, in Addison County the people of two towns, Middlebury and Vergennes, petitioned for the right to have the county grammar school. The legislative committee reported:

That if it is the opinion of the Legislature that only one grammar school be established in the county of Addison, it ought to be established in the town of Middlebury.<sup>6</sup>

This suggests that more than one school might be opened in a county. Possibly that hint impelled those who sought the charter to work for the wording finally included in the act of incorporation:

To hold and use *all lands in county* [Italics added] reserved and appropriated for that use in charters granted by the State.<sup>7</sup>

The next school incorporated was also in the north, in Franklin County, where the County Grammar School was incorporated at St. Albans in 1799. In 1880, they still had the right to the income from all the county grammar school lands.

In 1801, a Windham County Grammar School was organized at Newfane, presumably taking the place of one at Athens that never had more than a legal existence. That same year Waterbury was created as the County Grammar School for Chittenden County, but Chittenden never had any grammar school lands. Bennington County also had no lands though the school at Dorset was incorporated in 1804, as the Bennington County Grammar School.

In 1805, Guildhall gained the Essex County Grammar School, with right to the income from the school lands, but only four out of a total of twelve towns were reported in 1878, as having county grammar school lands. In 1880, Guildhall received the income from three of the four; the fourth, Concord, under the leadership of Samuel Reed Hall, had a grammar school of its own, 1823 and

<sup>6</sup> E. D. Andrews, Op. cit., p. 133.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.



the right to the income from the lands within its own boundary.

The Randolph charter of 1805, as the Orange County Grammar School, has the first definite recognition of the probability that other schools would be organized in the county:

Whereas there are sundry rights of land which by the charters and grants of the several towns in the said county were reserved for the use of the county grammar schools throughout the State, and are as yet unappropriated, which lands when applied to the use of a county grammar school founded in said Randolph so as to unite with the aforesaid institution would become of great public utility . . . Provided: that whenever any other grammar school may be incorporated in said county the net proceeds or avails of said land shall be subject to such division among all the grammar schools in said county as any future legislature may direct.<sup>8</sup>

We shall see later that this reservation made possible the division of county grammar school lands to other schools in Orange County.

When in 1807, the Windsor County Grammar School was moved from the town of Windsor to Royalton, the citizens of that town requested the rents and profits of all or a part of the grammar school lands in the county. The first school at Windsor had had nothing in its charter about the lands. As a matter of fact, there were only three towns in Windsor County that had not been in the Wentworth grants; Royalton was one of the three, and the lands in the other two, Bethel and Rochester, were granted to the Royalton Grammar School.

By this time, 1807, one grammar school had been established in each of the existing counties with the exception of Orleans on the Canadian border, which in 1810 had only one town with a population over 700. Washington and Lamoille Counties had not yet been organized. When Washington County, first called Jefferson County, was formed in 1810, the trustees of Montpelier Academy (organized in 1800) petitioned for, and received a new act of incorporation as a County Grammar School with

8 Laws of Vermont, 1806, p. 153.

the right to the rentals of the grammar school lands in the new county. In various counties other schools called academies had been established, but the question of lands apparently had not arisen.

The year before Washington County was organized the movement for more than one grammar school in a county be led off, strangely enough by Franklin County in the northwest. A county grammar school had been chartered at St. Albans in 1799. Fairfield, just east of St. Albans, now applied for and received a charter for a second grammar school. The question of a division of the lands arose, and the legislature divided the rents between the two schools. Nevertheless, the State Superintendent's report of 1880, shows all rents as going to the school at St. Albans.

From this time on schools with the title of County Grammar School were frequently incorporated despite the fact that one such school already existed in the county, and, again and again the lands were divided and subdivided. The desire for the rentals of the lands was one motive for the organization of the schools. Bogart refers to the fact that Montpelier changed its name from Academy to County Grammar School in order to be eligible for lands. He also tells of the first meeting of the Trustees of the Orange County Grammar School at Randolph, "which was devoted to securing lands and leasing them. Only after that did they take time to organize and draw up by-laws."<sup>9</sup>

It seems fair, however, to recall that the population was growing, and that the difficulties of travel to the one grammar school in a county might be prohibitive to many ambitious youths.

In Orange County the problem of the lands was simplified by the proviso in the charter which permitted the division if other grammar schools were organized. When a new grammar school was chartered at Thetford in 1819, it was given the rentals of the school lands in the towns of Washington and Chelsea, though those two towns were

<sup>9</sup> W. E. Bogart, *Lease Lands of Vermont*, p. 287. Used by permission of Dr. Bogart. Vermont Historical Society, 1950.

nearer to Randolph than to Thetford. Later still other schools were incorporated in the county and the rentals were divided either equally or in proportion to the number of weeks the schools were open. In all, seven schools were organized in Orange County: Orange County Grammar School at Randolph, 1805; Thetford Academy, 1819; Newbury Seminary, 1833; Corinth Academical Institute, 1846; West Randolph Academy, 1847; Chelsea Academy, 1848. Although the new schools were not called grammar schools, they demanded and received school lands.

In spite of the careful wording of the charter of the Caledonia County Grammar School at Peacham, the State Legislature in 1836, granted a charter for another county grammar school at Lyndon. The act of incorporation stated that:

the rents and profits of all the lands in Lyndon and other towns therein named, granted for the support of Grammar Schools, shall be appropriated for the use and benefit of said school at Lyndon. Trustees of said school at Lyndon . . . invested in full power to lease . . . receive rents . . . on all lands that had been heretofore leased by the Trustees of the Grammar School at Peacham.<sup>10</sup>

Evidently the Legislature did not feel quite sure of their right to take lands away from Peacham in face of the wording of the old charter for the new act went on—

But if the Supreme Court should hereafter adjudge the act to be unconstitutional, said Trustees shall have no claim on the State for damages, but shall take this act at their own risk.<sup>11</sup>

When a case did come before the Vermont Supreme Court in 1839, the judge quoted these words, saying that they "relieved the Court of much of the ordinary embarrassment involved when one department of the government denies the constitutionality of an act of another department." The decision was given in favor of Peacham, on the precedent of the Dartmouth College Case, claiming

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in *Caledonia County Grammar School v. Burt*, II Vt., p. 632.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

that the new charter impaired the obligation of contract of the original Peacham incorporation.

Orleans County on the Canadian border has the most amazing history of county grammar school land grants. Far to the north, at times fearful of invasion from Canada, the county was late in being settled. None of its area was in the Wentworth grants, consequently every town was supposed to have grammar school lands. In 1878, all but two of the nineteen towns reported such lands. At that date the rentals came to \$632.82, about \$180.00 more than the next highest, Orange County which reported \$452.17. All writers on Vermont emphasize the peculiar psychology of its people, a psychology of individualism. Perhaps it is not surprising that many of the citizens were unwilling to let money go out of their own town to support schools in other towns, and that eight of the nineteen towns in Orleans County sought charters for schools of their own.

As early as 1812, an act was proposed for two schools, one at Brownington, and one at Craftsbury, funds from school lands in the county to be equally divided. Brownington in 1810, had a population of 236, and Craftsbury, 566. Other counties started with one school, but sparsely populated Orleans County desired two from the first. Nothing was done until 1820, when a committee was appointed to locate an Orange County Grammar School, to have all the grammar school lands in the county, with a reservation allowing for possible redistribution to other schools. The school thus planned was probably Brownington. In 1829, Craftsbury Academy was incorporated in the southern part of the county, and in 1836, an act divided the lands town by town between the two schools. In 1848, Derby Academy was incorporated, and a new division of the lands was made. A fourth school, the Orleans Liberal Institute, was organized at Glover in 1852, and the lands redistributed, although the act of incorporation had said nothing about lands. The next year the case of Orleans County Grammar School v. Parker came into the courts, and one of the arguments raised was that the school at Derby was an academy, not a county



grammar school. The court decision rested on the reservation in the original charter of the Orleans County Grammar School, and recognized the new school's right to the lands. A fifth school, Barton Academy, was incorporated in 1855, and a new method of dealing with the lands was introduced:

All income, rents, and profits derived from the grammar school lands . . . shall hereafter be equally divided [between the four schools already founded] and each of the four shall hereafter pay to aid Barton Academy one-fifth part of all such sums as they may receive, so that they shall all share alike.<sup>12</sup>

This may have been easier for the legislature than re-listing the lands, but it involved extra bookkeeping for the secretary-treasurers of the four schools. The difficulty must have been recognized, for another act was passed the same day, with a list of town lands for each school.

This is not the end of the story, for three more schools were incorporated in Orleans County, each to receive benefit from the school lands; Missisquoi Valley Academy at West Troy in 1855, Albany Academy and Westfield Grammar School in 1857. At that date the Legislature reverted to the discarded plan, for the first five schools, Brownington, Craftsbury, Derby, Glover and Barton, were to receive the rents, and each was to give one eighth part to each of the other three. In 1859, still another act was passed, placing the responsibility wholly on the selectmen of the towns. They were to collect the rents, and pay them to whichever school might be decided on by the voters in the March town meeting. In 1870, this was changed again so that the trustees of the school were to collect the rents of lands in towns where schools were located, and the selectmen in towns where there were no schools. There were still other acts, one giving the rents of school lands in Newport to the graded schools in that town. All these acts contained clauses permitting change by future legislation. It may be noticed that except for Troy and Westfield all these grammar schools and academies were in adjoining towns.

12 Laws of Vermont, 1855, pp. 71-73.

The shift from the time honored designation of *County Grammar School* to the name of *Academy*, more familiar in the other New England States, is well illustrated by the schools in Orleans County. The following table shows it for the state as a whole:

Date of founding	County		
	Grammar Schools	Academies	Other names
Before 1800	6	1	1
1800-1809	5	4	1
1810-1819	0	9	1
1820-1829	2	10	3
1830-1839	4	5	8
1840-1849		7	6
1850-1859		18	11
1860-1869		6	6

Lamoille County was organized in 1835, and the next year a school already established as Lamoille Academy at Johnson was rechartered as the Lamoille County Grammar School. Every county now had at least one grammar school.

One wonders whether the game of rivalry for school lands was worth the candle. Basing calculations on the list of schools receiving rentals from the lands as given in the State Superintendent's report of 1880, and the amount of rentals as given in Bogart's Appendix G, these results appear:

Schools having all the rents from the county lands:

Addison County at Middlebury	\$71.00
Caledonia County at Peacham	419.54
Franklin County at St. Albans	140.99
Rutland County at Castleton	124.00
Washington County at Montpelier	380.77
Windham County at Londonderry	84.46
Windsor County at Royalton	179.29

Counties where rents were divided

Lamoille County	
Johnson, County Grammar School	198.90
Morrisville, People's Academy	112.00

Essex County	
Guildhall, County Grammar School	39.00
Concord	29.50
Orange County	
If divided equally among seven schools	74.59
Orleans County	
Division among eight schools varied.	
If divided equally	59.10

These amounts except Peacham \$419.54 seem too petty to quarrel over, but the expenses of the school in the early days were also small. For instance the *Illustrated Historical Souvenir of Randolph* by Pember states that the Preceptor was paid \$400.00 and that one year with the tuitions and rents from the school lands the Trustees found they had a balance to carry over of \$129.21! They promptly reduced the tuition to \$1.50 a term.

There was no unified pattern for the administration of the grants. Many of the charters contained terms similar to those in the Cabot charter which stated that "said rights [of land] were to be under the control, order, direction, and disposal of the General Assembly of the State forever."<sup>13</sup> But the State practically abdicated control; the county in Vermont has never been an important government branch; the land rents were granted to the grammar school in a given town, and this left the trustees of the school to take charge. But the trustees were men of the community, not paid for their task, and the secretary-treasurer kept the accounts in his spare time. Often he was re-elected so that he practically held office for life, and Bogart says that both his handwriting and the accuracy of his accounts deteriorated. The records were usually stored in private homes; often they were burned, though occasionally they are rescued today from rubbish in some attic. Bogart says that nowhere did he find an "orderly systematic, complete catalogue of parcels of land pertaining to any given grantee."<sup>14</sup>

The location of these school lands is often uncertain. Bogart tells of a plot of land reserved for a school in the

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in Bogart, Op. cit., pp. 285, 286.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 93.

midst of a large farm, where neither the holder of the lease, the school trustees, the selectmen of the town, nor the state officials knew the exact location.<sup>14a</sup> It is therefore doubtful whether all rents are collected.

The leases are "durable leases," often employing the old English phrase "as long as wood grows or water runs." The reason for this is that in the early days the schools were naturally anxious to get settlers, and with scant realization of the changes that time might bring they granted these long term leases. This is well explained in the decision in the case of the University of Vermont v. Ward. Leases of such lands were better adapted to the conditions which then existed than leases of short duration . . . The greater part of this State was covered with forests which had little value, if any, as timber. The land had to be cleared before it could be cultivated and made productive . . . Settlers would not undertake the arduous work of improving these lands and making them productive unless they could be assured that they and their children would enjoy the fruits of their labor. This result and a reasonable and adequate rent for the lands could be secured only by long term leases.<sup>15</sup> Also in order to get settlers they placed the rental at a lower figure than the local tax rate, so that settlers would prefer leasing to purchasing. The amount of the lease could be changed only by consent of both parties, and naturally the holders of these low-rate leases would not exchange for ownership and high taxes. Bogart gives an amazing example of land in the center of the city of Barre amounting to over one hundred acres, with over one hundred and fifty buildings on it. The total ground lease established in 1801 and still prevailing, calls for an annual rental of \$17.00!<sup>15a</sup>

Moreover these lease lands have by court decisions been declared inalienable. The final decision in the case of University of Vermont v. Ward just referred to was: The trustees have only the authority and power to lease such lands . . . . The Trustees never had any power to convey by deed.<sup>16</sup>

14a Ibid, p. 88.

15 104, Vt., 239, 245.

15a Bogart, Op. cit., p. 318.

16 104 Vt., 239, 245.



Even stronger is the wording in the case known as the Judevine case:

The sale and conveyance of the estate was not only a fraud on the power but also a fraud on the future objects of the power.<sup>17</sup>

Nor could the lands be taken even by right of eminent domain. Quoting from the case of Middlebury College v. Central Power Company:

If lands are dedicated to a public use and actually so employed . . . they cannot be taken by condemnation proceedings for it is a well settled law of this State that property already appropriated to a public use cannot be taken for another public use without legislative authority.<sup>18</sup>

It was, then, impossible to raise the rents on these leased lands, or sell them and invest in something that would bring higher returns. But even that was not the end of the story. These lease lands were free from taxes by either state or town. The map shows that especially in the south many of the county grammar schools were in towns that had no county grammar school lands. In other words, the town that had no lands, but often had the school, relinquished neither rent nor taxes to support the school, while other towns in the county that had no school had to relinquish rents to a school in another town, and could not tax the sequestered lands. Only one case dealing with taxation of sequestered lands came before the courts, and that was not school lands. Bogart says "The only assumption available is that the exempt status of the lease lands is so thoroughly accepted throughout the State that even those who complain about it do not regard it as a reasonable possibility for a trial at law."<sup>19</sup>

The object of the system was to aid education. As it stands today it aids no one but the tenant who holds his land on a durable lease and cannot be forced by law to buy or allow an increase in his rent. The income the grammar schools receives amounts to 1% on the value

<sup>17</sup> 93 Vt., 220, 237.

<sup>18</sup> 101 Vt., 325, 336.

<sup>19</sup> Bogart, Op. Cit., p. 204.

of the lands, and that percentage is based on the valuation of 1878. Today increased values would make the percentage even smaller.

Yet those who made the Vermont laws may very likely have compared them with the Massachusetts law of 1797, and congratulated themselves that the Vermont legislation had provided an income for all future time for the secondary schools of the state!

Until comparatively recently there has been no general and consistent policy in regard to the school lands. There were various bits of special legislation that served to divert the rentals from the original intention. For instance, in 1822 the charter for the Londonderry Grammar School provided that if the school ceased to function the rentals of the grammar school lands in the town of Londonderry should be used for the common schools of the towns. A similar law in 1823, gave the grammar school lands in Jamaica outright to the common schools. Both laws were distinctly contrary to the earlier legislation, which had reserved these rights of land for the support of grammar schools. However, few laws of this type were passed before 1860, and in the sixties the movement for free public high schools was well started.

In 1872, came a slight variation on the Londonderry-Jamaica laws, when the Newport Academy and Graded School District was established and granted the benefits of the grammar school lands in Newport.

Edward Conant, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, in his famous report of 1880, objected to these plans of giving the rents to the common schools, pointing out that:

The grammar school rights had been in contemplation of secondary education, and that it constituted a perversion of the purpose of the reservation for the benefits to go to the common schools.<sup>20</sup>

Nevertheless, in 1886 the same thing was done in Barton when an act was passed combining Barton Academy and School District number one into "Barton Academy

20 Report of State Superintendent of Schools, 1880.

and Graded School District," with provisions for the admission of other districts, and the clause saying:

The selectmen of the town of Barton shall annually pay over the rents and profits arising from the grammar school lands in said town to the Trustees of Barton Academy and Graded School District.<sup>21</sup>

As years went on sometimes the pattern of Jamaica was followed and the lands given to the common schools; sometimes the pattern of Newport and Barton, uniting academies or grammar schools and common schools to share the profits from the lands, leaving the administration to a board elected by the district.

In St. Albans when the High School was organized the trustees of the Franklin County Grammar School gave up all management of the school, simply taking care of the school lands, and turning over the profits to the school board. In Montpelier and Middlebury the trustees of the old schools and the town school board made an agreement by which the trustees gave the building and equipment of the academies to the school board, and the school board gave the trustees the right to representation on the school committee.

In many towns the Grammar School or Academy ceased operations, and a High School took its place. Finally, in 1937 a general law was passed about the school lands, but it did not affect cases where "the revenue of such lands . . . had been granted to a particular academy or grammar school." Exactly how many towns it did affect it is difficult to say. The act, slightly condensed, reads as follows:

The board of directors of a district within which grammar school lands are located . . . shall have control and management thereof . . . power to collect and disburse all revenues arising therefrom. [If approved academy or high school is in district], revenues arising from such lands shall be used in the maintenance of such high school or academy; but if [such a school] is not maintained by the district, the revenues arising from such lands shall be used in payment

21 Vermont Laws, 1886, pp. 128, 129.

of the tuition of resident students pursuing advanced courses.<sup>22</sup>

But the inequalities still remain: that comparatively few towns have the grammar school lands; that the income fixed by durable leases long ago is far below what it should be; that the whole situation is by many court decisions difficult or impossible to change. To quote again from Prof. Bogart, it is "conceded quite generally that the system has outlived its usefulness, and is now a liability."<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 1937, p. 105.

<sup>23</sup> Bogart, Op. Cit., p. 316.



## EARLY MASSACHUSETTS AID TO "DESTITUTE" REGIONS OF VIRGINIA

By W. HERMAN BELL

The library of Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia, contains an intriguing little booklet which the writer discovered some years ago in a forgotten nook of the library at Hampden-Sydney College. The booklet is entitled *A Memorial of the Benevolence of New England to the Theological School in Virginia*. A note on the flyleaf informs us it was sold by L. C. Bowles, No. 12, Cornhill, Boston. It contains testimonials from Andover Theological Seminary and from "gentlemen in Boston and its vicinity" in support of a gentleman from Virginia who had come North to seek help for a young seminary he was heading in his own state. In view of Andover's strict requirement of a quinquennial subscription to the Calvinistic creed, the unqualified endorsement given this man and his enterprise by the faculty are an eloquent testimonial to the soundness of the design of establishing the Virginia seminary.

It would be more nearly correct to say "reestablish" the institution, for in 1812, Moses Hoge, the president of Hampden-Sydney College, had been appointed Professor of Divinity in the Synod of Virginia's new seminary while continuing in the capacity of president of the college. Dr. Hoge had no buildings and no seminary colleagues during the eight years he taught until his death in 1820. During this period he made use of college buildings to train thirty young men for the Presbyterian ministry. For two years after he died the Synod tried in vain to find a successor and ended by turning over its school to Hanover Presbytery. Presbytery was fortunate in securing the Reverend John Holt Rice, the very successful pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Richmond, and he it was who visited Boston in the interest of his seminary.

The testimonial from Andover is no mere bit of pious phraseology—it is a virile declaration of hope and confidence:

*Testimonial from Andover Theological Seminary*

The professors of this Seminary take pleasure in testifying their cordial approbation of the design of establishing a Theological Seminary in Virginia; their full conviction that the general interests of religion imperiously call for such an establishment in that part of our Country; their confidence in the Christian brethren who are to superintend its concerns; their entire satisfaction with the character and qualifications of the man who has been appointed to the office of Professor; and their earnest wishes for the success of the Institution. They would unite with its particular patronage and friends in devoutly commending it to the Great Head of the Church; and by this expression of their opinion, to the kindness of all who love the Lord Jesus, and duly consider the importance of furnishing to the churches and to the destitute regions of our country, a competent number of well qualified ministers of the Gospel.

Signed                    E. Porter  
                                  L. Woods  
                                  M. Stuart

September 27th 1823.

The declaration had its intended effect, for a following briefer testimonial, signed by a longer list of Boston gentlemen, precedes a long list of contributors. Among these contributors was Daniel Webster, who gave twenty five dollars. An ironical note was that in the "destitute region" destined to benefit by his generosity—less than ten miles from Hampden-Sydney, the seat of the seminary—there lived a young man named John Randolph of Roanoke. Mr. Webster's donation might have been accompanied by more fervent wishes had he felt that the seminary would have a mellowing effect on the turbulent spirit and sharp tongue of his future political rival! Not alone men of Webster's standing, but men and women of every class made donations. The testimonial and list of contributors from various groups read:

*Testimonial from Gentlemen in Boston and Its Vicinity*

We whose names are underwritten, having obtained satisfactory information from the statements of the Rev. Dr. Rice, the Rev. Mr. Russell, and in other ways, respecting the establishment of a Theological Seminary in Virginia, hereby ex-

press our full conviction of the great importance of such a Seminary in that part of our country; our entire confidence in those who are to superintend its concerns, and our cordial and earnest desire that it may receive liberal patronage from the Christian community in New England, as well as elsewhere; and may ever enjoy the guidance and blessing of the Redeemer and Head of the Church.

Boston

30th September 1823

	Signed
J. Salisbury	Samuel Walker
Richard S. Storrs	Justis Edwards
John Codman	Sylvester Holmes
B.B. Wisner	Abner Phelps
Samuel Hubbard	Henry Hill
Elias Cornelius	William Jenks
L. Woods	Henry Homes
Jerh Evarts	

#### Donations Made in the City of Boston

Deacon William Phillips, late Lieut.		
Governor of Massachusetts		\$200.00
Rev. Dr. John Codman		100.00
John Tappan		100.00
Collection in Park Street Church		100.00
Samuel Hubbard	pd.	50.00
Abner Phelps (Ten per ann. for 5 years)		50.00
Daniel Webster	pd.	25.00
John C. Proctor	pd.	25.00
Leonard Woods	pd.	20.00
Josiah Salisbury	pd.	20.00
William Ropes	pd.	25.00
R. Chamberlain	pd.	20.00
N. McCleod	pd.	20.00
Henry Homes		30.00
S. Train	pd.	20.00
E. B. Parker	pd.	25.00
A Friend		20.00
Rev. M. Dwight		15.00
Paul Whitney		10.00
Dr. Chaplin		5.00
Mrs. McLean		10.00
Rev. Mr. Weyland		10.00
Mr. Cleveland		5.00

Nath. V. Cobb	10.00
Ward Jackson	10.00
John B. Jones	5.00
Rev. Dr. Baldwin	5.00
Small Donations	8.96

## SALEM

Collection in the Church		50.00
Rev. Mr. Cornelius	pd.	50.00
David Oliphant (\$5 per year)	pd.	25.00
Saml. Emerson (\$1 per year for five years)	pd.	5.00
Robert Crowell		5.00
Otis Rockwood	pd.	5.00
Brown Emerson		10.00
Samuel Walker	pd.	5.00
Samuel Dana	pd.	5.00
Aaron Green	pd.	3.00
Dr. B. Wadsworth	pd.	20.00
J. Searl	pd.	2.00
John Whiton	pd.	2.00
Recd. \$98		

## NEWBURYPORT

Mrs. Coombe	15.00
Rev. Mr. Dimmick	5.00
Rev. S. P. Williams	20.00
Mr. Clarke	7.00

## WORCESTER

Mr. Daniel Waldos	25.00
Miss Waldos (three sisters)	50.00
Rev. Mr. Goffe	.50

## SPRINGFIELD

Mrs. Eliza Trask	25.00
Rev. Mr. Osgood	5.00
David Ames	10.00
Hon. George Bliss	10.00
Hon. John Kooker	5.00
Daniel Bontecon	5.00
O. B. Morris, Esq.	3.00
I. Chaffee, Esq.	2.00
Mrs. Warriner	5.00
Assenath Stebbins (a serving girl)	.25



A friend	2.00
Miss Eliza S. Trask	5.00
Miss Sarah Trask	5.00
Master Israel Trask	5.00
Master William E. Trask	.25

The events of the years proved that the confidence reposed in Dr. Rice was fully justified, though the new school almost went out of existence more than once in later years. When Dr. Rice was formally installed as Professor of Theology on January 1, 1824, he still had no buildings, but he did have three students and an endowment of \$10,000.! Two years later the Synods of Virginia and of North Carolina took the school under their joint care and assured its future as Union Theological Seminary, which it is called today. During the nineteenth century controversies in the Church occasioned a serious lack of interest, and the Civil War—War Between The States, if you live in the South!—reduced the student body to one and its income to nothing—but the seminary has lived. In 1898, its location was moved from the campus of Hampden-Sydney to its present ample site in Richmond.

Perhaps the full story of New England's contribution to education in the Old South will never be fully told. Many a governess came from New England to teach the children of some plantation owner and remained to become the gentleman's helpmeet upon the premature death of his first wife. Southern colleges had their share of famous teachers from New England, not the least of whom were Hampden-Sydney's President Samuel Stanhope Smith, later President of Princeton fame, and Jonathan P. Cushing, of Dartmouth, who piloted the Virginia College from 1821-1835, one of the most crucial periods of her existence. The College of William and Mary, too, drew many of its teachers from New England. Certainly the cause of national unity was greatly served by New England's contribution of men and money to the cause of education in the Old South.

# SALEM CHARITABLE MECHANICS ASSOCIATION AWARDS FOR FURNITURE, 1849

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Awards made at the first Exhibition of the Salem Charitable Mechanics Association, September 1849. Cabinet Furniture, Upholstery, &c.

Joseph True, Salem Diploma	1 Miniature Screen 1 Black Walnut Screen Handsome designs and well executed specimens of carving
James Kimball, Salem Diploma	2 School desks and chairs with cast iron supports 2 Mahogany chairs with cane seats 3 Counting Room chairs with cane seats
Mark Pitman, Salem Diploma	1 Mahogany Toilet table, very well manufactured
John Jewett, Salem Diploma	1 Mahogany centre table, a very good design, well executed 1 Mahogany Toilet Bureau & 1 Mahogany Toilet table 1 Refrigerator grained in imitation of black walnut 1 Black walnut whatnot The bureau and toilet table were neatly designed and very good specimens of workmanship. The refrigerator was well manufactured, conveniently arranged and of very good pattern and material
Nathaniel Silsbee, jr. Salem Diploma	1 Black walnut chair frame 1 Miniature screen. Very creditable to the mechanical taste and ingenuity of the maker.
Whipple & Fellows, Salem Silver medal	1 Black walnut armour or wardrobe 1 Mahogany toilet table 1 Mahogany commode with marble top 1 Mahogany centre table do. 1 Mahogany card table 2 Hall chairs of oak, Gothic style These articles were made of well selected materials, handsomely designed and well executed, fully sustaining the high reputation of the contributors taste and skill.
Timothy Brooks, Salem	1 table inlaid with a variety of woods
Thomas Brooks, Salem	1 miniature table. Very neat.
T. Brooks, Salem	1 chair

MILITARY SERVICE OF  
COL. ARTHUR TREADWELL DALTON, 1898-1932

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THE ONLY PROFESSIONAL ARMY MAN FROM SALEM

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I was born in Salem, Massachusetts, on March 23, 1877, the son of Joseph Franklin Dalton and Eliza Jane (Trask) Dalton. My Dalton ancestors were all military men, and fought in all wars, beginning with the Revolutionary War. On my mother's side, one fought in the French and Indian Wars, (Major William Hathorne) but the Trasks were maritime men and commanded the old clipper ships sailing out of Salem, and engaged in trade with the Far East, before and after the Revolution. My grandfather, Thomas Trask, serving on the private armed Brig *Enterprise* was captured by the British in 1813, taken as a prisoner of war to Halifax and later released. For 21 years, he served as United States Consul at Surinam, South America. Returning to Salem, he served in both branches of the Salem City Government.

The first Dalton to come to Salem was my great great grandfather, Edward Dalton, who came to America from Ireland just before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. He had resided in Ireland, but was descended from French Huguenots who left France for England. Upon arriving in America, he immediately entered the United States Navy and served on the U.S.S. *Junius Brutus*, under Captain John Leach. In 1778, he married Sarah Moses, daughter of a prominent Salem family. They had six sons and one daughter, one son dying in infancy. Three sons were impressed into the British Navy in the War of 1812, and never were heard of again. Another son, Eleazer Moses Dalton served in Colonel Wright's Regiment in the War of 1812, and still another son, my great grandfather Joseph Dalton, served in Colonel McCobb's Regiment in the War of 1812.

My grandfather, Joseph Allen Dalton, a son of Joseph Dalton, served in the Civil War as Lt. Colonel and Acting Colonel of the 40th Massachusetts Regiment of Infantry,

U. S. Volunteers. He participated in numerous campaigns against the Confederates in the South (1861-64). His two sons, my uncle, Samuel Dalton, and my father, Joseph Franklin Dalton, also served in the Civil War, the former as a Lieutenant, 1st Mass. Reg't. Artillery, U. S. Volunteers, and the latter, as a Paymaster's Clerk in Admiral Farragut's Fleet of the U. S. Navy. After the war, both my uncle and father enlisted in the 2nd Corps of Cadets, an independent Battalion of Infantry, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia with headquarters in Salem. Later, both commanded the Battalion as Lt. Colonel. Samuel Dalton was appointed Adjutant General of Massachusetts by the then Governor Benjamin F. Butler, and continued his service, under many successive Governors, for a period of 20 years.

From this military background of the Daltons, it is easy to understand an inheritance of an inclination for the military, and I can still remember my drilling with a broomstick, when a small boy. I can remember how eagerly I looked forward to the summer, when my father the then Commander of the 2d Corps of Cadets, allowed me to stay with him during the weeks encampment of the organization. I could hardly wait for the time to come when I would be eighteen years old, and could enlist as a Private in the Cadets. That is exactly what I did on reaching my 18th birthday in 1895. In 1898, when the Spanish-American War occurred, I was hoping that the 2d Corps of Cadets MVM., would be accepted as an organization and be mustered into Federal service. This did not occur, however, as the Cadets were an independent Battalion and not acceptable to the Federal government. When this decision was made known, and desiring to be a soldier in the war, I enlisted as a Private in Battery "D," 1st Regiment of Heavy Artillery of Massachusetts which had been mustered into the Federal service, thus becoming a U. S. Volunteer Regiment. There were, what seemed to be well-founded rumors, at that time, that the Regiment would soon be ordered to Cuba, and become a part of the Expeditionary fighting force. To my great disappointment no orders came for active duty in Cuba,



and instead, the Regiment was placed along the Massachusetts coast in various small camps. On November 14, 1898, the Regiment was mustered out of the Federal service at Boston, Massachusetts.

In the meantime, my older brother Harry F. Dalton, a Lieutenant in the Cadets, had received a civil appointment from the President of the United States as a 2d Lieutenant of Infantry in the Regular Army, and had joined the 9th U. S. Infantry at Madison Barracks, New York. I learned from him that a young man could enlist for three years in the Regular Army and study for a commission. After two years service and being recommended by his immediate superior officers, he could apply to take the examination for 2d Lieutenant, and if successful, would be commissioned. This was known as "coming up from the ranks." Eager to do just this, and to make the Army a career, I enlisted as a Private at Boston, Massachusetts, on November 21, 1898, just one week after being mustered out of the 1st Massachusetts Heavy Artillery, U. S. Volunteers. I was assigned to the 9th U. S. Infantry at Madison Barracks, New York. Arriving there the latter part of November, I was assigned to Company "F". Incidentally not my brother's company, and I saw little of him at Madison Barracks. I would occasionally pass him, and salute him, and no one would know that we were brothers.

In those days, the Regular Army was small and vacancies as 2d Lieutenants, each year, were filled by the graduating class at West Point. In fact, in some years there were more West Point graduates, than there were vacancies. The excess graduates were commissioned and designated as "Additional" 2d Lieutenants, and became regular 2d Lieutenants, when vacancies occurred. Such vacancies only occurred by the death, retirement, resignation, dismissal by a Court-Martial, etc. of a commissioned officer. However, in some years after the commissioning of the West Point graduating class, there would be some remaining vacancies, and these were filled; first by enlisted men found duly qualified, and second, by persons appointed from civil life by the President of the United

States, subject also to a physical and mental examination. In the case of enlisted men, the mental examinations were very severe and paralleled the academic subjects taught at West Point. Viz:—Advanced Algebra, Plane and Solid Geometry, Trigonometry, the use of Logarithms, Arithmetic, Elementary Surveying, U. S. History, General History, Spelling, Geography, English Grammar, knowledge of the Constitution of the United States, Infantry Drill Regulations, U. S. Army Regulations, Small-Arms Fire Regulations, Field Service Regulations, First Aid and Hygiene Regulations, and a Practical demonstration of drilling a Platoon of Infantry.

Madison Barracks, New York is located at Sackett's Harbor, New York, 10 miles from Watertown, New York, on the shore of Lake Ontario. It enjoys a very cold, but dry and crisp winter, beginning in November and ending in late spring. I was very proud to join a company of the Regular Army and especially the 9th Infantry, with a tradition of distinguished record in the Civil War, Indian Campaigns, and the recent Spanish-American War, having just returned to their home station, Madison Barracks, after participation in the Santiago Campaign in Cuba. The personnel of all Regular Army regiments, in those days, consisted for the most part of old seasoned officers and enlisted men, with long service extending back to the Indian Campaigns, of our Western frontier. There were no very young Captains as compared to the Army of to-day. Captains were in the forties, in age, 1st Lieutenants in the late thirties and 2d Lieutenants in the twenties. Majors, Lt. Colonels and Colonels were men in the fifties and early sixties. Retirement was compulsory for all officers on reaching the age of 64. Promotion was strictly by seniority and promotion was very slow. Captains, as a rule had been commanding their companies for years, and were truly "the fathers" of their men. The old captains took great pride in "raising" their Lieutenants in a very strict military manner. The Lieutenants were always addressed as "Mister" by older officers and were considered as "youngsters." The non-commissioned officers were soldiers of long service. The junior corporal in my

company had 19 years service and the junior Sergeant 23 years service. They were all men from thirty-five to sixty years of age. They were strict disciplinarians, even more so than many commissioned officers, excellent drill-masters, and what is now known as "hard-boiled." But underneath it all, they were men of fine character, and unswerving in their loyalty to their superior officers. My 1st Sergeant had 28 years service, 12 years in Company "F", serving under the same Captain all of that time, and he had the greatest respect for his Captain. In those days, there was a wide gulf between commissioned officers and enlisted men, but this did not mean that enlisted men were looked down upon or unjustly treated by the officer. On the contrary, officers greatly appreciated the soldierly qualities of the trained old soldier, but did not fraternize with him. The "old soldier" would not have it otherwise, and would have little respect for an officer who would curry favor, by being over-familiar. An exception of respect for an officer by an enlisted man, would be in the case of an officer who was unjust and over-bearing. As young 2d Lieutenants, we were taught to always consider the welfare and contentment of the enlisted man and that no favoritism be shown any one individual, but that all be treated with firmness and justice. That we always should consider our men first. We should treat many individual problems, remembering that each man had his individual disposition, and not to treat them collectively as a machine.

Upon joining at Madison Barracks, I was immediately assigned to recruit squad, called "awkward squads" in those days for drill. However, the strict old Drill Sergeant noticed my knowledge of the Manual of Arms, facings and squad movements, relieved me from further recruit drill and ordered me to report to my Company, as a full-fledged Private. My service during the winter months, although in a bitter cold climate was most enjoyable to me, and I was happy in leading a military life. We were issued muskrat caps and gloves, and when on guard, as sentries, wore heavy buffalo coats, a great comfort in "walking post" at below zero temperatures.

In January, 1899, I was promoted to Corporal on

account of my previous military knowledge. I was also made Company Clerk, which is an Assistant to the 1st Sergeant in keeping the Company records etc. This duty as Company Clerk excused me from routine Company drills, and it also gave me more time to devote to my studies towards a commission. In those days there were no Officer Candidate Schools, with officers as Instructors. We had to study by ourselves, in preparing for an eventual examination for a commission. In those days, the monthly pay of a Private was \$13.00 and of a Corporal \$15.00. Quite different from the pay of our Army of today, where the pay of a Private is \$75.00 per month, to say nothing of the many vocational and technical courses open to him. I can always remember how proud I was in wearing the chevrons of a Corporal in the Regular Army.

In February, 1899, the 9th Infantry was designated by the War Department, for service in the Philippine Islands, where Aguinaldo the Insurrecto General was opposing U. S. Forces in those Islands. Orders were expected daily for the Regiment to proceed to the Philippines, and finally about March 10th, the orders were received. On the first of March, the President of the United States designated 112 young men throughout the United States, 3 men from Massachusetts, to be appointed 2d Lieutenants in the Regular Army from civil life, subject of course, to a physical and mental examination. To my amazement, and not expecting a civil life appointment, having enlisted to finally secure my commission "from the ranks," I was not very jubilant, as I was not fully prepared in all the necessary educational subjects. If successful in the coming examinations, it meant that I would be discharged as an enlisted man, and appointed a 2d Lieutenant from civil life. With orders for the Regiment to proceed to the Philippines expected daily, I figured that I would be left behind at Madison Barracks, and ordered to take the required examination at some designated place in the East. However, no such orders were received in my case, and I left with the Regiment on March 15th en route, by train, to San Francisco. On the train I read in the newspaper that Examining Boards had been desig-



nated in the East, South, Middle West and West, and this made it quite likely that I would probably be ordered before a Board in San Francisco.

Arriving in San Francisco, about March 20th, the Regiment went into camp at Presidio of San Francisco, awaiting ocean transportation to the Philippines. In about a week, the Regiment broke camp at the Presidio and went aboard two U. S. Army Transports, the *City of Pueblo* and the *Zealandia*. My Company "F" was assigned with five other Companies to the *City of Pueblo*. On the day of sailing, the two transports left the dock and anchored in mid-stream in San Francisco Bay, at noon, to await the last mail from Washington. I was congratulating myself that I had not been ordered before an Examining Board in San Francisco. I could now accompany the Regiment to the Philippines, and would probably be ordered before an Examining Board at Manila. As it took Army transports in those days at least 28 days to make the voyage from San Francisco to Manila, this would give me time to perfect myself in those subjects in which I was the weakest. I, too, was greatly encouraged and appreciative when a number of the commissioned officers of the Regiment offered to tutor me during the voyage. However, this was not to be, for at about 2:30 P.M. a tug-boat from San Francisco came alongside the *City of Pueblo*, with the mail, and to my great disappointment the mail contained orders for me to report at once to an Examining Board at the Presidio of San Francisco. There was no time to obtain my text-books. Accordingly, in heavy marching order, rifle, haversack, bedding roll, etc., I boarded the tug-boat and headed for the San Francisco dock. There had been no time to obtain my text-books, which I had been careful to see were not put deep in the hold of the vessel, but were in a deck baggage store-room, where I could get at them during the voyage. Neither, was there time to make out my transfer papers, supposed to accompany a soldier whenever he changed station. Those papers contain the military record of the soldier, and upon which are based his current monthly pay etc., without which he could not be paid at his new sta-

tion. These papers went to the Philippines and were not received at my place of duty, until six months later, at Butte, Montana, where I was on Recruiting duty. The pay of a Corporal at that time was \$15.00 per month, so that even the accumulation of 6 months pay did not constitute a fortune, yet it was joyfully received.

As we reached the dock at San Francisco, I could see the transport with my comrades aboard steaming out through the Golden Gate, my morale was at a very low ebb. Upon reporting at Presidio of San Francisco, I was attached to Troop "B" 4th Cavalry, for rations and quarters, awaiting my orders to report to the Examining Board to begin the examination. In about a week, I appeared before the Board and after the physical examination, began the written examination of the required educational and military subjects. With very little confidence in my ability to pass, not being fully prepared, I was glad that the examination, lasting about a week, was over. I knew that I had failed in three subjects, viz.:—Trigonometry, the use of Logarithms and Elementary Surveying. So I was fully prepared, when I was notified officially that I had failed to make a passing mark.

Shortly after the completion of my examination and the above-mentioned notification, I received orders to proceed to Sacramento, California, to report to the Recruiting Officer, Captain George A. Detchmendy, U. S. Army, for Recruiting duty in that city. After about four months at Sacramento, California, the office was discontinued, and Captain Detchmendy and I were ordered to proceed to Butte, Montana, and open a Recruiting Office in that city. Butte, Montana a western mining town is located high in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. The large Anaconda Copper mine is located adjacent to Butte, and a large number of Butte residents are employed in the mines. Owing to the sulphur fumes from the mines, Butte is entirely devoid of vegetation, and I remember sending home a colored postcard showing what purported to be the only tree in Butte. Deaths of miners from constant inhalation of the sulphur fumes were very frequent, and hardly a day passed, but what a funeral procession

passed by. In the late summer, I became a victim of "breakbone" or "mountain" fever and was transferred temporarily to Fort William Henry Harrison at Helena, Montana, about 60 miles north of Butte, for treatment in the Post Hospital. Fort William Henry Harrison was garrisoned by a company of the 24th U. S. Colored Infantry, which had participated in the Santiago Campaign in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. The commissioned officers at the Post consisted of the Company Commander who was also Post Commander, and a 1st Lieutenant of the Medical Corps, who was Post Surgeon. Those officers were white officers, many of the colored soldiers were suffering from malaria as a result of their hard service in tropical Cuba, but always happy and good-natured, even those who were hospitalized. I can remember on the train from Butte to Helena, that we passed through a heavy snow-storm, and the date was August 22nd. In about three weeks, I had recovered from my illness and returned to Recruiting duty at Butte.

In November, 1899, I received orders to proceed to Boston, Massachusetts, and report to the Recruiting Officer at 73 Hanover Street, for duty. The Recruiting Officer was Major Morris C. Foote, an old Indian fighter, who was a Major of the 9th Infantry at Madison Barracks, New York, when I joined that Regiment in 1898. I was very much pleased in receiving orders for Boston, as it was near my home in Salem. I began to formulate plans for systematic study, and engaging a tutor to perfect my knowledge of Mathematics, especially Trigonometry, Logarithms and Elementary Surveying, the subjects in which I was deficient in my examination at San Francisco. In those days, a second failure to pass the required examination for 2d Lieutenant, would eliminate the applicant for further eligibility. Naturally my great objective was to be fully prepared in all subjects, when I would be eligible for another examination, at the completion of two years service as an enlisted man.

I reported to Major Foote in Boston, in November, 1899, and was assigned sleeping quarters provided for other members of the Recruiting party on the 3rd floor

of the building at 73 Hanover Street, just above the Recruiting Offices on the 2d floor. We were provided meals at a nearby restaurant. My duty enabled me to visit my home in Salem on week-ends. I immediately arranged for tutors to instruct me. The tutors engaged were: a Salem High School Mathematics teacher and a Civil Engineer. During the progress of my instruction, I was delighted to find that these subjects were not as hard as I had imagined, and very soon all fear of failure was eliminated. During 1900, Major Foote, and later, his successor, Major Ammon A. Auger, another old Indian fighter, detailed me to open temporary Recruiting Offices in Lynn, Lowell, Haverhill, Lawrence and Newburyport. In the latter part of 1900, I returned to the main office in Boston; and now having completed my two years service, applied for the examination for 2d Lieutenant. In March 1901, I received orders to proceed to Governor's Island, New York, and to appear before an Examining Board at 39 Whitehall Street, an Army Building. On March 15th, the examination began and occupied 12 days. Written examinations in the sixteen prescribed subjects, and the examination terminated with a practical demonstration of drilling a platoon at Governor's Island. I then returned to Boston with a confident feeling of success, as a result of my intensive study of the past year or more. In July, 1901, I was notified by the War Department that I had passed the examination with a mark of 92, and accompanying the letter was my commission as a 2d Lieutenant of Infantry to date from February 2, 1901, with a form "Oath of Office," to which I must be sworn to, if I accepted. It is needless to say that I accepted at once, and on July 3, 1901, was sworn in as a 2d Lieutenant, by my father, Col. J. Frank Dalton at Salem, in his capacity as a Notary Public. To say that I was a most happy young man is putting it mildly.

Within a few days, I received orders assigning me as 2d Lieutenant, 27th U. S. Infantry, at Plattsburg Barracks, New York. The 27th U. S. Infantry has maintained its great fighting abilities since its hard service in Mindanao, Philippine Islands 1902-05, against hostile



Mohammedan Moros, where it was a part of Gen. John J. Pershing's command; its service, in Siberia in World War I, under most trying conditions; in World War II in the Pacific area, and it now figures prominently and with distinction in the operations in Korea. It is known as the "Wolfhounds." At Plattsburg Barracks, when I joined in July, 1901, were the Headquarters, Band, 2nd and 3rd Battalions. The 1st Battalion was at Fort McPherson, Georgia.

In September, 1901, I was transferred with three other Lieutenants from the 2d and 3rd Battalions at Plattsburg, to the 1st Battalion, at Fort McPherson, Georgia. In late November, the War Department issued orders for the entire Regiment to proceed to the Philippine Islands for duty. The Hdqrs. Band and the two Battalions at Plattsburg to sail from New York, via the Suez Canal, for Manila, while the Battalion at Fort McPherson, to proceed by rail to San Francisco, and to sail for Manila, from that city. Accordingly my Battalion left Fort McPherson the 15th of December for San Francisco. Upon arrival the Battalion went into camp at Presidio of San Francisco, preparatory to boarding an Army Transport. About December 20th Colonel Frank D. Baldwin joined us, and assumed command of the Regiment as the former Colonel at Plattsburg, had retired.

Colonel Baldwin, an old Army Colonel, had served in the Civil War, and later in many Indian Campaigns. He was the only officer of the Army, to be the recipient of two Medals of Honor, for extraordinary gallantry in action. On January 1st, 1902, we boarded the U. S. Army Transport *Sheridan* and sailed for Manila. Also to board the *Sheridan* was a squadron of the 11th U. S. Cavalry. With stops at Honolulu, Midway Island and Guam, we arrived in Manila Bay on January 28, 1902. We disembarked the next day and went into camp on the Luneta of Manila, named Camp Wallace. In a few days, the Headquarters, Band, 2d and 3rd Battalions, of the Regiment, arrived after their long voyage, via the Suez Canal.

At the time of our arrival in Manila, the Philippine

Insurrecto Army, under Gen. Emilio Aquinaldo, which had opposed the American occupation, had dwindled to a mere handful, and Aquinaldo had just been captured by a detachment of the Regular Army in a mountain hide-out in Northern Luzon, under command of Gen. Frederick Funston. This terminated the Philippine Insurrection in the Northern and Central Islands, with the one exception of the Island of Samar in the Central group, where strong guerrilla forces were still operating and frequent ambushing of detachment of U. S. troops occurred. Only recently a Company of my old Regiment of the 9th Infantry, Co. C had been surprised and massacred while at mess, by supposedly friendly Filipinos, who belonged to what we now call a fifth column.

Another serious problem, and what could be called a delicate situation now existed, as regards the large Southern Island of Mindanao. Mindanao, the second largest island in the Philippines, next in size to Luzon and about the size of the State of Maine, 600 miles south of Manila, was inhabited by war-like tribes of Mohammedan Moros. During the few years of fighting in Luzon, between the U. S. forces and the Filipino insurrectos, under Aquinaldo, the Moros in Mindanao had remained neutral, taking no part in the uprising against the U. S. forces in the Northern Islands. For years, under Spanish rule of the Philippines, small garrisons of Spanish troops were stationed on the coastal settlements of Mindanao. No white man had ever penetrated into the interior, which was the stronghold of the various Moro tribes. As long as this interior was not invaded the Moros had no objection to small coastal garrisons of occupation troops. They considered the interior as sacred Mohammedan territory, and not to be contaminated by the feet of Christian "dogs," as all non-Mohammedans were called.

The United States now decided that the time had arrived to take up the Moro question. The policy would be to invade the interior of Mindanao, not for war-like purposes, but to improve the primitive conditions of the Moros, by opening up their territory, by building roads, to replace mountain trails, install telephone and tele-

graph communications, and to introduce modern sanitary methods. This was the delicate situation confronting the occupation troops, in the face of the religious fanaticism of the Moros. While in camp in Manila awaiting the assignment of the Regiment, it seemed quite probable that we would either be sent to Samar or Mindanao. We welcomed such an assignment in the hope of seeing active service. Orders soon arrived and the 27th Infantry was ordered to proceed to Mindanao and Islands of the Sulu Archipelago, for service. On February 12th, 1902, the Regiment under command of Colonel Frank D. Baldwin, embarked on the Inter-Island U. S. Transport *Sumner* for the southern islands. Our first stop was at Zamboanga, the Capital of Mindanao, a small settlement of a few hundred coastal Moros, which was the Headquarters of the Military Department of Mindanao, General George W. Davis, Commanding. Here the Hdqrs. 27th Infantry, Band and three companies took station; we then proceeded southward to the islands of the Sulu Archipelago, the southernmost group of the Philippines, to the small town of Jolo, called the capital, and where the Sultan of Sulu, a powerful and wealthy Natto or chief of the Sulu Moros resided. Here, three companies of the Regiment took station, thence we continued southward to the small islands of Siassi and Bongao, dropping off a company at each island, for station. Bongao is the southernmost island of the Philippines, and only forty miles from the island of Borneo. We then headed north and back again to the west coast of Mindanao to Tucuran, where one company disembarked, and lastly to the small settlement of Malabang, where my Company took station. At all of these places the 27th Infantry relieved a like number of companies of the 23rd U. S. Infantry, which had been occupying these stations for about two years. Malabang later became the important military base, in the operations against the hostile interior Moros, as it was the nearest point to what was known as the Lake Lanao country, twenty-six miles in the interior and the stronghold of many powerful Moro tribes.

The little barrio or village of Malabang consisted of a

population of about 400 Coastal Moros, and the settlement was located only about 300 yards from the beach of the open sea, there being no harbor at Malabang. My Company took quarters in an old Spanish fort of strongly built masonry and about 2000 yards from the beach. Leading from Malabang and through the dense jungle for twenty-six miles, to the open highlands of the Lake Lanao region, was a mountain trail known as the Ganassi trail. There were no roads in all of Mindanao. At the little settlement of Malabang, was conducted weekly an outdoor Moro market, where some of the interior Moros would come in from the mountains and barter with their produce, Moro cloth, etc., with the Coastal Moros. The hostile interior Moros frequently traveled the Ganassi trail, an ideal place to ambush our troops, if in small numbers. Accordingly, orders were issued prohibiting soldiers from leaving the immediate vicinity of the fort. However, as often occurs, some few soldiers disregard orders of this kind. Just two weeks after our arrival at Malabang, two soldiers ventured out of sighting distance from the Fort, on the Ganassi trail—about a mile and a half from the Fort. They encountered six interior Moros, on their way back to their mountain stronghold, who had been attending the Moro market at Malabang. The Moros pretended to be friendly at first, but then surrounded the two soldiers and attacked them with their long sharply bladed knives, called a "Kampulan," which they always carried. One of the soldiers was killed on the spot, but the other one managed to escape. He came staggering back to the Fort, with a terrible cut the whole length of his back. I happened to be coming out of the sally-port, just as he arrived, and while getting weaker and weaker, from the loss of blood, incoherently told me what had happened, and then died at my feet. I was immediately ordered to take a squad, go to the scene, and recover the body of the slain soldier. Upon reaching the spot, I found the dead soldier, cut from head to foot, horribly and unspeakably mutilated, after death.

In the 13th Century, Arab voyagers and merchantmen landed on the island of Mindanao, and the Sulu islands,



and converted the Malay natives to the Mohammedan faith, henceforth, they were called Moros. In the 15th Century, the Moros attempted to colonize the Northern Island and even reached Manila, but were quickly driven back to the Southern Islands, by the Spaniards. A small number of Moros live on the west coast of Mindanao, and are known as Coast Moros, but the great majority and in very large numbers, live in the interior of Mindanao and are known as Interior Moros. The Coast Moros, due to contact with the small Spanish garrisons occupying the coast towns, spoke Spanish, but the interior Moros, having held aloof in their mountain fastnesses, spoke their own Moro language entirely unlike Spanish. The Moros are divided into various tribes, headed by a Chief, or Datu (Datto) who occupies this exalted position, by reason of inheritance and is looked upon as a Royal personage. He is supreme over his subjects and has right to declare war against any enemy. The numerical strength of each tribe varies, from those of a few hundred to thousands in the more powerful tribes. Slavery and polygamy had existed for generations, a Datto considered his subjects as his personal property. As regards polygamy, the Datto reserved the right to have as many wives as he desired, and generally a favorite wife occupying the throne with him. For generations, there had been almost constant internal warfare between tribes and as a result, fortifications were built, forts and earthworks, called cottas. In constructing these forts, the Moros showed remarkable skill in field engineering, with their lines of trench communications within and outside of the cottas, and camouflaged pitfalls to retard the enemy's advance. There are no towns or villages in the interior, and the inhabitants were widely scattered over large areas, but called the "rancheria" of the particular tribe or Datto. Their occupation was wholly agricultural, by primitive methods, while the women were adept at the weaving of cloth, also by primitive methods. The interior Moro was a fine physical specimen, with broad shoulders and muscular limbs. His skin had a leathery appearance. They possessed great qualities of endurance and vitality, and we later found out that a

bullet of small caliber would not stop their advance, unless hit in a vital spot. Due to constant warfare, they were very war-like, blood-thirsty and cruel. A very stoical race and children from childhood are brought up to stand pain without wincing. At a very early age the teeth of the children are filed, so that they are concave. The juice of the native betel nut is then applied, which stains them an ebony black and is considered a mark of beauty. To illustrate: I had a young Coast Moro boy, as a servant, and one day he saw that I had a large safety pin among my belongings. Having never seen one, he was eager to possess it, so I gave it to him. He immediately pierced both nostrils, drawing blood of course, and clasped it, proudly wearing it as a nose ornament. This little operation brought no sign of pain on his part.

The Moro men wear only a breech cloth around their loins. Their hair is never cut, but is done up in a knot or pug, on the top of the head, in this respect, resembling a woman. Having never worn shoes, the feet of the Moros are very broad, the toes widely separated and the big toe at almost right angles with the others. Later, during our jungle service, we found it easy to distinguish the Moro footprints from those of jungle animals. On special occasions the men wear a gaudy colored jacket, with skin tight pants, so tight that one wonders how he ever got into them. The women wear a highly colored cloth sash, called a "Sarong," from the waist to the ankles and sometimes thrown over one shoulder. The Moro men were all heavily armed. The datto always carried a weapon, called a "Kris," a knife about 24 inches long, the blade being wavy, like a Christy bread knife with a scabbard of rattan, and with a very beautiful handle, inlaid in gold and silver. His subjects were armed with the "Kampulan" a long knife with a blade of about 36 inches, also with a Scabbard, kept in place by strings of bijuco, a native plant. When the first blow was struck scabbard and all, the sharp blade would cut the "bijuco," and the two sides of the Scabbard would fall to the ground. Also they were armed with a shorter knife, the bolo, used as a working

tool in cutting obstructions in the jungle. All of these knives were kept sharpened to a razor keenness.

The Gonassi trail through the dense jungle of 26 miles, from Malabang to the Lake Lanao region was very narrow, necessitating parties traveling in opposite directions to walk single file, in passing. The jungle abounded in small jungle animals and every sort of insect, the wild boar, wild monkeys, large ground lizards and very poisonous ground rats, scorpions, tarantulas, centipedes and poisonous snakes. The largest of the snakes was the python, found in the lowest branches of the trees or dense undergrowth, and lays in wait for his victim, a human being or a good-sized animal. Despite his mammoth size, with great swiftness he wraps himself around the victim and squeezes him to death. We were always on the alert for this killer, whenever traveling the trail.

My first taste of dangerous duty in a most hostile territory came soon after our arrival at Malabang. I was ordered to reconnoiter the jungle, for a distance of not more than 10 miles from Malabang. I was given a detachment of twenty-six men, a Doctor, and two friendly Coast Moros, to act as guides and interpreters. I well remember the duty, for while making camp for the night at about eight miles in the jungle, the Moro guides came in and reported that they had observed a force of about 250 Moros making preparations to attack and annihilate my camp. That night was an eventful one. It was hardly necessary for me to issue any orders, for our defense, as every man placed himself on guard, thereby encircling the camp, to await the attack. Needless to say that no one thought of a night's sleep. To one who has lived in the jungle, night is a fearsome time, with the howls of jungle animals and the inky blackness making it almost impossible to see one's hand before his face. Waiting for the expected attack and knowing that we would be greatly out-numbered was most nerve-racking. Also with the knowledge that the Moros would creep as noiselessly as possible through the dense undergrowth to the point of attack. The Moros possessed no fire-arms, depending on hand-to-hand encounter with their long Moro knives.

However, we were in a way, glad when they finally attacked, as a relief from the tense waiting, and it was soon apparent that their force had been over-estimated. Due to the alertness of my men, they were quickly driven off by our rifle fire, and there was but little hand-to-hand fighting. Although, rifle fire was in most cases inaccurate, due to the darkness, yet Moros were terrified at the sound of fire-arms, which, of course, was a great advantage to us. Only one of my men was even wounded, this one man encountering a Moro in the undergrowth, where a hand-to-hand fight ensued. We had killed 21 Moros, and we estimated that there had been about 100 attacking us. Daylight was very welcome, and also that the incident was closed.

About a month after our arrival at Malabang, Colonel Baldwin sent friendly Coast Moro runners into the interior to notify the Dattos of the tribes in the Lake Lanao region, that he wanted them to come to Malabang for a conference, where he would explain to them, what the exact future policy of the United States would be as regards Mindanao and the Moros. The runners returned with the information that the Dattos would come. In a few days they began to arrive, about seven of the most powerful Dattos, and it was interesting to see them. Each Datto was accompanied by a body guard of 10 to 15 tribesmen one of whom held a large colored umbrella over the head of the Datto to shield him from the hot rays of the sun; another carried a large brass inlaid box containing betel-nut, lime, tobacco, etc., for the Datto whenever he desired to use the ingredients. Each Datto was clothed in very gorgeous raiment, a jacket of many colors, and skin-tight pants. With the conference in session, Colonel Baldwin explained that the United States now possessed the Philippines, due to the defeat of the Spanish and Filipino insurrectos, and intended to occupy not only the coastal towns of Mindanao, but also to occupy the interior of Mindanao, with only one purpose, to open up their country to the outside world and thus improve their condition. That U. S. troops were in Mindanao, for peace time purposes, not warlike intentions. To all this, how-



ever, the Dattos showed great resentment at the intended encroachment into their sacred Mohammedan country and returned to the interior, sullen and defiant. Within a few days, the beating of tom-toms could be heard from the interior, which meant the summoning of the tribesmen to war and to resist the contemplated invasion by these "Christian dogs."

Shortly after this, Colonel Baldwin, who was approaching retirement age, was relieved with orders to return to the United States, and a young Cavalry officer, Captain John J. Pershing of the 15th Cavalry, was placed in command of all U. S. troops in Mindanao. Captain Pershing, had been for a long time previously on duty at Department Headquarters at Zamboanga, and was the one officer in the Philippines whom it was considered by higher authority, as knowing the Moros, better than any one else.<sup>1</sup> He, at once, organized a force, consisting of six companies of the 27th Infantry, a squadron of the 15th Cavalry, and two Batteries of the 6th Field Artillery, as an Expeditionary Force, to penetrate and occupy the Lake Lanao country. The column started out from Malabang, over the Ganassi trail, about May 1st. On May 2d, they emerged from the jungle, into the open country and within sight of Lake Lanao, a good-sized lake. Here they saw a large Fort or cotta, of strong earthwork construction, and occupied by hostile Moros. Red flags of war, were flying from the ramparts. Taking up battle formation, the Infantry

1 In those days a Brigade consisted of two or more regiments, commanded by a Brigadier General. The Expeditionary Force organized by Captain Pershing was almost a Brigade and would ordinarily be commanded by a Colonel or possibly a Brigadier General. No officer senior to Captain Pershing was with this Expeditionary Force. Later, in 1906, Captain Pershing still in Mindanao was appointed a permanent Brigadier General of the Regular Army by President Theodore Roosevelt. Promotion, in those days, in the Regular Army was strictly made by seniority from the grade of 2nd Lieutenant to Colonel. However, the President of the United States, by law, was given the right to select and appoint general officers of the Army without regard to seniority or even previous military service. Should the President so desire, he could select a civilian to be a General Officer. Captain Pershing was therefore made a Brigadier General from Captain, and never served in the grades of Major, Lieutenant Colonel or Colonel.

and dismounted Cavalry advanced under a heavy barrage of Artillery fire. After a whole day of fighting, our troops were within 300 yards of the cotta and orders were issued to improvise scaling ladders, to go over the walls. However, as it was late afternoon, and darkness comes quickly in the tropics, a very short twilight, the scaling of the wall was postponed until morning. Bombardment of the fort continued during the night. At daybreak there were white flags flying in place of the red flags, and inside the cotta were eighty Moros, who surrendered. This engagement was called the Battle of Bayan, or the assault on Fort Pandapatan. The Moro casualties were about 600 dead, while our forces suffered 96 killed and wounded. Two officers of the 27th Infantry were killed, 1st Lieutenant Thomas A. Vicars, and 2d Lieutenant Albert L. Jossman. Captain Pershing immediately established camp on the battleground, which was named Camp Vicars. During the next few months Captain Pershing led part of his forces upon expeditions around Lake Lanao, encountering some resistance, but he was successful in subduing other hostile Moro forces in their strongholds.

The widening of the narrow mountain trail from Malabang to Lake Lanao, a distance of 26 miles, now became of utmost importance, so that supplies from Malabang to the interior through the jungle, could be transported by wagons instead of heretofore, by pack mules. Companies of the 27th Infantry, under the supervision of three Engineer Officers, were ordered to three widely separated one-Company camps to work on this road construction. It was a stupendous job, clearing the dense underbrush, cutting down trees to be used as lumber in constructing many bridges of great length over deep ravines and rivers. This was all done without the modern methods now used in clearing forest land and building roads. Each Company Commander at the three camps was responsible for the completion of nine miles of road construction. Working parties were constantly fired upon during the daytime, by roving bands of hostile Moros, which retarded the work to some extent. An officer was required to inspect the working parties each day, and

traveling the trail was extremely dangerous on account of the possibility of being ambushed. Almost every night, the small one-company camps were subjected to night attacks. Small numbers of Moros would crawl in the underbrush within firing distance, and after a few shots at random into the company tents, would withdraw.

Guard duty was especially wearing on our men, for the guard was doubled at night, and each soldier was detailed for guard duty every two or three days, a most nerve-racking duty in the inky blackness of the jungle night, with the screeching noises of jungle animals, to say nothing of possible surprise attacks by hostile Moros. Working very hard at road-building during the day, and too frequent tours of guard duty at night, resulted in a great strain, so that malaria and dysentery, took its toll of our men and in a few cases, men went temporarily insane. To add to the strain, there was a time when orders came from "higher-up" which, I believe, originated in the State Department, that even though we were fired upon, we must not return the fire, namely to show the Moros that the troops were not there for war-like purposes, but for peace only. Of course this was not understood by the war-loving Moros, and we learned that they considered us as cowards. Whether or not this procedure of withholding our fire was always carried out, when our men were being killed, I will leave to the conjecture of the reader.

All our supplies at these camps were brought by pack-train from Malabang, and that one important article to the soldier, food, consisted wholly of canned goods. Just once in my years service in the jungle we feasted on fresh beef. It was when a refrigerator ship arrived at Malabang, and a supply of meat was hurriedly packed on the back of mules, and sent to us in the interior. That it was a gala event, it is needless to say, for the camp was aroused at three o'clock in the morning to partake of this great luxury, prepared by the Company cook. Had it not been eaten at once, it would have spoiled quickly in the hot climate.

Epidemics of Asiatic cholera were of frequent occur-

rence among the Moros due to their lack of sanitary methods. Rivers and streams in the interior were all polluted, and as they were the source from which we had to depend for our drinking water, it was necessary to thoroughly boil this water. Boiled water is not a very palatable drink, and in the hot climate where no ice was obtainable, it was always luke-warm. I still remember the delight in being able to have cold, unboiled water, upon leaving Mindanao. Asiatic cholera is nearly 100 percent a fatal disease, and its duration is only about five hours, before death. Later, upon the termination of my jungle service, I was, for a time, Provost Marshall of the small Moro settlement at Malabang, the population of which was 400. Within a week or more, cholera had taken a toll of over 300 victims. However, due to our excellent sanitary methods, only a few cases occurred among our troops and this was because of disregarding orders by individual soldiers, who drank from polluted streams.

Just before our road building and jungle service was over, an interesting incident occurred at my camp. Moros traveling the trail were stopped by our sentries and searched for contraband articles. We had recently heard that interior Moros, after attending the Moro market in Malabang, had murdered a Datto of one of the Coastal Moro tribes, and had of course, fled back into the interior. In a few days, six Coastal Moros appeared at the camp and on questioning them, stated that they were tribesmen of the murdered Datto, and were on their way to find the murderers. About three days later, they reappeared at camp on their way back from the interior, and they were carrying three very long bamboo poles. On the top of each pole was the head of a Moro. With fiendish glee and great pride, they lowered each pole for my closer examination of the heads. Moro justice had been swift and devoid of legal procedure, in avenging the murder of their Datto.

After almost a years service in the jungle, and the road completed, the Regiment was mobilized and took station at Malabang. It was certainly fine to be back, in what we called "civilization" again. Excellent nipa barracks and



officers' quarters had been built during our absence, and real garrison duty was again enjoyed. Still, there was often some excitement, one being a violent earthquake and a tidal wave following. It threatened to engulf the settlement at Malabang and our garrison, as we were only a few hundred yards from the open sea. Another incident, although not one of excitement was the sudden appearance of clouds of locusts or grasshoppers. Exactly like a blizzard and obscuring the sun, it lasted for two weeks, and they disappeared as quickly as they had come. An examination of the high grass in the vicinity of the Post, showed that the grass had been eaten, and it was as if a scythe had done the job of grasscutting.

From duty at Malabang, I was detailed temporarily as Acting Quartermaster at the small coastal town of Parang-Parang, a few miles south of Malabang, and garrisoned temporarily by two companies of the 27th Infantry. Later, I was detailed as a member of a General Court Martial, which was to journey to the Sulu archipelago to try cases at Jolo, Siassi and Bengao. While at Jolo, I witnessed, for the first time, what we had heard about. That of a Moro going "juramentado" or "running amuck." This situation exists as a result of a Moro becoming hopelessly involved in debt, which is considered a great disgrace. The only way in which the transgressor can redeem himself, is to shave his head, wear a white turban, arm himself with the long knife, called a "Kampulan," and start on a rampage to kill as many Christians as possible, before being killed or killing himself. It was the Moro belief that the more Christians he killed, the higher would be his seat in the Mohammedan Heaven. The incident I witnessed was when another officer and myself, were leaving a building in the town of Jolo, and were attracted by a great commotion about 300 yards away. Natives scurrying for safety, cried out the word "juramentado." We soon saw that the fanatical Moro was headed straight towards us, and we too, endeavored to get out of his path and seek safety. We were unarmed, except for our saber, which we prepared to use if necessary. However, a Corporal's guard from the Jolo garrison, hurrying

to the scene, got between the Moro and us, greatly to our relief. The Corporal's guard could have shot the Moro, but apparently under orders to take him alive, used the bayonet to stop him. To show the wonderful tenacity of the Moro, with a bayonet from one of the soldiers, piercing well into his abdomen, he reached and grabbed the rifle and drew himself further into it, in order to reach the Soldier's body, for one more blow, thus hoping to kill one more Christian. We learned that he had succeeded before meeting his own death, in killing an American Lieutenant and two Filipino civilians. At Jolo, I journeyed, by boat to the islands of Siassi and Bongao, the two southernmost islands of the Philippines, where our soldiers were stationed. From Bongao, I visited the British possession of the town of Sandakan, on the island of Borneo.

In July, 1904, the 27th Infantry was relieved from further duty in Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, and sailed for Manila, where Headquarters, Band 1st and 2d Battalions took station in the city of Manila, while the 3rd Battalion, 4 companies, took station at the town of Bayambang, in the Province of Pangasinan, Luzon, 100 miles north of Manila. As my Company "A" was of the 1st Battalion, I took station at Quartel Meisic, old Spanish Barracks, located in the Binondo District, in the heart of the city. It was indeed a great contrast to our dangerous service in Mindanao. We enjoyed the military and social activities and advantages of a big city.

Being in Manila, I was reminded of what might be called a link between Manila and Salem, Massachusetts. It was due to the fact that in the "hey-day" of the old clipper ships, sailing out of Salem, and engaged in trade with the Far East, these vessels often made Manila their destination. From Manila, I wrote to a relative of mine in Salem, one Captain John Felt, a retired Sea Captain then about 90 years of age. In reply, he wrote me a most interesting letter, in which he described Manila in 1832. This was his first voyage, as a "cabin boy," and his ship arrived in Manila Bay, after a six months voyage, from Salem.

*(To be continued)*

## BOOK REVIEWS

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JOSEPH B. EASTMAN, SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE. By Claude Moore Fuess. 1952, 363 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Columbia University Press. Price, \$5.00.

Dr. Fuess has written a timely, well documented biography of Joseph B. Eastman who served on the Interstate Commerce Commission for twenty five years and was National Director of Defense Transportation when he died in 1944. "The respect which official Washington paid to Eastman as Director of Defense Transportation is a fine example of what character in a public figure can accomplish. His sturdy and impregnable independence, his forthright thinking and his indifference to pressure groups, his avoidance of political intrigues, his dislike of publicity—all these gave him a standing which inspired confidence. Much of what Eastman did was unsensational and failed to make the arresting headlines reserved for presidents and their cabinet ministers. But work like his is essential for the efficient operation of our increasingly complex government. Although Eastman was not picturesque or dramatic, he set an inspiring example for others to follow—one by which they could measure themselves. His quiet independence, his lofty conception of official duty, his extensive vision, his intellectual and moral integrity, his genuine humility—traits not often found in combination in one personality—were admired by all those who came within his range. There has been no finer public servant, strictly as such, in our time."

Dr. Fuess, former headmaster of Phillips Academy in Andover, attended Amherst College at the same time as Eastman and was personally acquainted with him in later years. Dr. Fuess has made good use of the abundance of material at his disposal and has quoted freely from Eastman's letters and voluminous published reports and has gathered many impressions from the people who knew Eastman. These Dr. Fuess has welded into a clear cut picture of a constructive, almost indispensable man against a turbulent background of the transportation field and politics. Recommended to all libraries.

WHO LIVED HERE? Text by M. A. DeWolfe Howe. Photographs by Samuel Chamberlain. 1952, 139 pp., quarto, cloth, illus. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. Price, \$5.00.

This is the story of thirteen New England houses and their occupants. Mr. DeWolfe Howe with humor and understanding has given concise and appreciative accounts of the people who have imparted character and feeling to the various houses. The many photographs of Samuel Chamberlain add immeasurably to the book. They are his usual beautiful exterior and interior shots. One of the houses of Essex County interest is the Bradstreet house in North Andover. This house was built by Simon Bradstreet, husband of Anne, the poetess, in 1666 after his first house burned. Anne lived here until her death in 1672. It now belongs to the North Andover Historical Society. Of particular interest is the "Old Manse" in Concord where Hawthorne lived for a time; also the "Mansion House" or "Elmwood" as it was later known where Elbridge Gerry, Governor of Massachusetts and Vice-President of the United States lived. This will make an excellent gift book. Recommended to all libraries.



THE  
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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXXVIII—OCTOBER, 1952

ISSUED QUARTERLY



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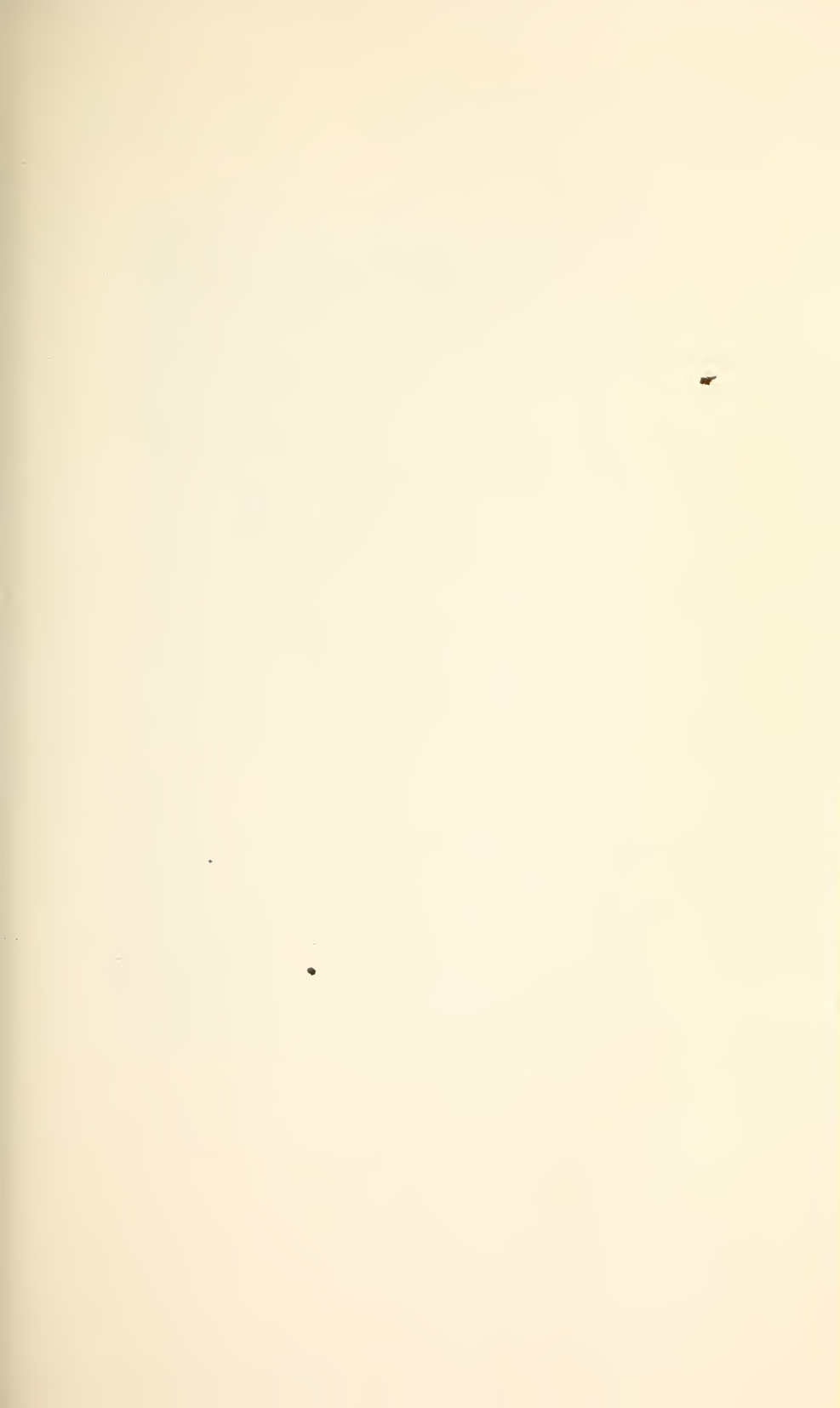
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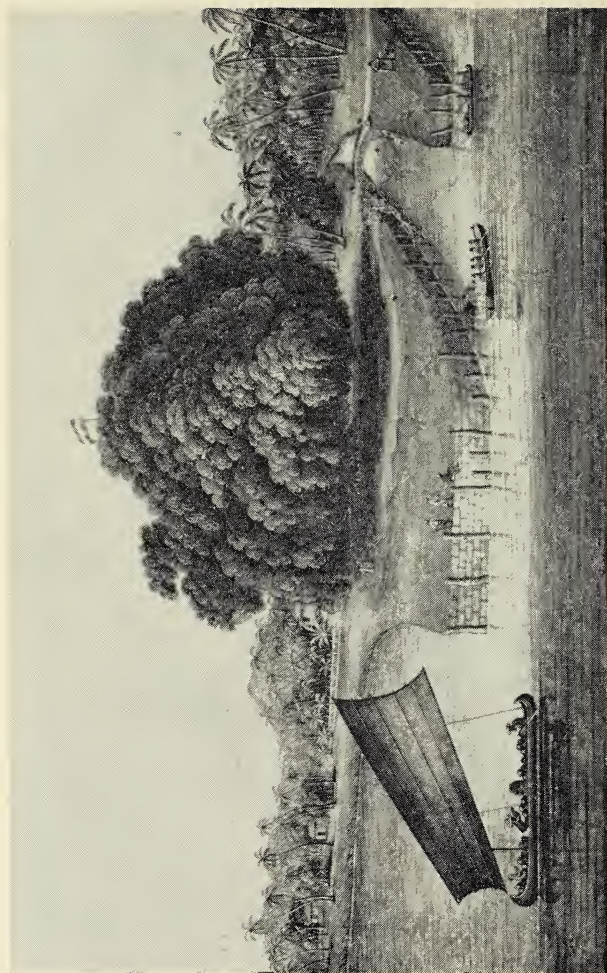
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ANGIER POINT, JAVA HEAD

From a water color by a Chinese artist, in possession of the Peabody Museum, Salem



# ESSEX INSTITUTE

## HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

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VOL. LXXXVIII OCTOBER, 1952

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No. 4

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### ACCOUNT OF A SEA VOYAGE TO JAVA, 1878-9, BY CAPTAIN EDWIN BABSON OF NEWBURYPORT

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WRITTEN BY HIS DAUGHTER, IMOGENE IN 1947

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This is the account of a sea voyage taken in 1878-9 on the Barque *Lizzie H* by Captain Edwin Babson, his wife Annette, his daughter Imogene, eighteen years old, and his son Francis, three and a half years old. Capt. Babson was born in West Newbury on June 17, 1831, and was married in Amesbury Sept. 3, 1857 to Annette French Morrill.

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The Sunday before we left Newburyport we went to a beautiful Palm Sunday service in historic old St. Paul's Church (since burned down and now rebuilt in Colonial Style). After saying goodbye to relatives and friends we left by train for New York City. The large city with its stores full of luxuries was very interesting to our eyes, and old Trinity Church with its surrounding graves seemed like an oasis in the desert. We went there to a devotional service for Good Friday, which seemed a fitting prelude to our great adventure on the sea. The ship was in Brooklyn and was full of activity when we boarded it. It was a barque of about 1,000 tons burden, with two masts rigged with square sails, and one mast with fore and aft sails. The cabin was finished in beautiful panels of satin wood, upholstered benches were built in on either side and in the center was a stationary table. From the cabin the companionway led to the upper deck. In the after part, leading from the cabin, were the large master's stateroom, with double bed, chests of drawers, and

an alcove for charts and the "slop chest" from which (for a price) the sailors were supplied with any extra clothing they might need; there was also space for a bed for little brother. There was another stateroom for the young lady daughter, and the necessary toilet room for the family. Forward of this cabin was the dining saloon, and leading from that were the staterooms for the first and second officers, the steward's room, a storage room for cabin supplies and the steward's pantry. On the ship in addition to the officers there were the Chinese cook and Chinese steward, a Swedish carpenter, and about eighteen or twenty sailors of various nationalities, principally Scandinavian.

It was a beautiful Easter morning on which we were towed out from Brooklyn Harbor, the sails were set, and when the pilot left us in his little sailboat we felt we were really launched upon our journey. Then began the regular ship's routine of four hour watches on and off, and the two "dog watches" of 4 to 6, and 6 to 8 p.m. that allowed the two groups of sailors to alternate their night duty. We all enjoyed the "dog watches" when nobody was supposed to be asleep, and little brother could be as noisy as he pleased. The discipline on the ship was rigid. The Captain's family was not allowed to go forward of the main mast, nor to speak to the sailors on duty at the wheel or elsewhere. The Captain and his family had their meals with the first officer at table, but the second officer ate at a separate time. I have forgotten when the carpenter ate, but he had his food served in his cabin which also was his work-shop. The first part of the trip we had fresh meat, chicken and a pig that was killed on board, but later the food was principally salted and canned meat and vegetables. We were always happy when Thursday came with its ham, which we liked better than the salted beef and pork. We used to quote to the beef the sailors' jingle:

"Old hoss, old hoss, how came you here?  
 From Sacarap to Portland Pier  
 I carted stones for many a year,  
 'Til killed by blows and sore abuse

They salted me down for sailors' use.  
 The sailors me they me despise,  
 They pick my bones and curse my eyes,  
 They curse my eyes and pick my bones,  
 And pitch me over to Davy Jones."

In those days the canned food was not prepared as scientifically as it is at present and often in the tropics we heard explosions that told us our can of clams, fruits and vegetables were bursting.

As we left shore a little touch of sea-sickness from the gentle rise and fall of the ship made us aware that we were really on the open ocean, but it soon passed, and the days sped happily on our way to the equator. We enjoyed seeing the flying fish, the Portuguese men-of-war that floated on the sea, and the sea gulls and an occasional albatross in the air. Once in an electrical storm we saw the balls of St. Elmo's fire on the ends of the spars, and once at some distance we saw a water spout, and we were very glad it did not come nearer, as it has been known to swamp a ship. The time passed quickly. We had a good library on board and we especially enjoyed a series of bound Cornhill Magazines, in which I remember reading with much interest Thackeray's account of "The Four Georges." We had plenty of sewing to do; pieces of cross stitch tapestry and some dresses to make, one in particular being of pink and white pineapple fibre brought home by the Captain on a previous voyage, and which his daughter looked forward to wearing in Java. A good deal of time had to be spent in amusing little brother, who had to be kept quiet while the officers were sleeping on their watch below. He liked to be read to, and I smile when I now remember that I taught him to recite Longfellow's "Psalm of Life." The carpenter made us some chess men of wood with pegs to hold them in place on the board, and my father and I played chess and also card games occasionally.

My little brother had long golden curls, as was the fashion in those days, and my tender-hearted mother could not bear to have them cut, but cruel-hearted sister wanted him to be a "little man," and one day bravely cut them

off, and the carpenter who was ship's barber finished the work.

We had various types of weather, winds and calms, showers and heat. The rains were always welcome to supply water for the sailors to do their necessary washing, and to freshen the air. As we approached the vicinity of the southern ocean the weather became cooler (it was winter there) and we had a stove put up in the cabin for comfort. In the vicinity of the Cape of Good Hope (we were too far south to see it) we had a terrific storm of several days duration. The ship was under reefed sails and the enormous seas dashed over the decks, and poured down into the cabin. The sailors (two of them were needed) were lashed to the wheel to keep them from being washed overboard. One terrific wave swept one of the boats that hung above the side of the cabin away from its stanchions and into the ocean. One was bent like a piece of small wire. The mechanical steering apparatus was broken, the wheel had to be lashed in place, and there we lay for hours at the mercy of wind and sea. The cargo was of cases of kerosene, and the ship was so driven over on its beam ends by the terrific storm that a portion of the cargo shifted and the ship could not right itself. When the storm abated and we could look out on deck the mountainous waves were so high it seemed a wonder that we had survived the storm. The steering apparatus being broken, a system of ropes and pulleys had to be installed, and it was with that that we had to continue our voyage to port. Also the part of the cargo that had shifted had to be brought up from the hold and cast overboard to right the ship before she could proceed. Many of the cases were broken, and the cargo being so inflammable great care had to be taken to avoid fire.

The weather was pleasant with only occasional squalls as we sailed through the Indian Ocean and after 128 days out of sight of land the Captain said "Tomorrow you will see a cloud on the horizon ahead of us," and sure enough there it was; it gradually developed into the Island of Krakatoa that in 1883 was destroyed by a volcanic eruption. As we sailed through the Straits of Sunda the



water was glistening with the light from animalcules in the water—it was like sailing through a silver sea. We were to stop at Anjer, the first port for orders, and, as we approached, it was a fascinating sight. The sea was covered with native boats with their latteen sails, and they were filled with all sorts of good things to eat: live chickens, vegetables and tropical fruits, bananas, oranges, mangoes, mangosteens and pineapples, and such a chattering there was as the bargaining went on. Java itself was a beautiful sight with its tropical vegetation and mountains in the background. I especially remember a large banyan tree and the carpet of wild flowers that covered the fields.

We went on shore in one of the native boats (called *tambangans*) with its lateen sails and native crew. They sail very fast, and often splash one with spray in crossing the waves. Very exciting! Anjer was a small settlement of Dutch people and was later nearly destroyed by a tidal wave. The Dutch ladies in those days dressed during the day in native costume of *Kagaya* (a white jacket much embroidered and trimmed with lace) and *sarong* or folded skirt of cotton decorated in batik work in various colors. It was a most comfortable costume. They wore no stockings, but slippers much embroidered with gold thread. The men wore pajamas of batik or white linen suits for more dressy occasions. The natives wore principally a loin cloth, and had their hair twisted in a knot under a kerchief. The women wore merely a *sarong* or sometimes a little drapery over one breast, and the little children ran around in a state of nature.

The Dutch houses were very comfortable, of one story, made of stone or plaster with wide verandas, on which much of the time was spent. The servants' quarters and all cooking arrangements were in separate buildings, and the bath was a little house by itself. It had a tank of water on one side from which one dipped the water for one's ablutions. The floor sloped to make drainage to the outside, and in that hot climate the bath was used many times a day. At noon the invariable luncheon was the *riis* table, where a heaping platter of hot rice was served with addi-

tions of various sorts to suit one's taste: chopped meat balls, fish, curried crab meat, prawns, pickles, chutneys of various kinds and different condiments. It does not sound very attractive in description, but it was really most appetizing. Pineapples were served whole and sliced from top to bottom instead of across. In the afternoon everyone took a siesta. The beds were wide, hung with mosquito netting and in addition to the two regular pillows there was a long round one called a "Dutch wife," that went the length of the bed. After the afternoon rest and bath everyone dressed in European clothes for evening, and gin and other appetizing drinks were served. Then came the evening drive either before or after dinner. We stayed only a few days at Anjer and then proceeded to Pekalongan, a small city.

At all the ports the ship was anchored out in the roads with quite a trip necessary when going to shore. I do not remember much about Pekalongan, but our next stop, at Semarang, was very delightful. It was an attractive city with background of high mountains, one of which was an active volcano, from which smoke arose by day, and at night its fires glowed and lighted up the clouds. At Semarang we made the acquaintance of the ship's agent and his family. Their name was von Bruggen, and the daughter Cornelia (of my age) proved to be a very congenial companion. She spoke Dutch, French, English and Malayan, and acted as hostess for her father. She very kindly interpreted for us, and we went shopping together and exchanged many girlhood experiences. My father planned a trip for us into the mountains for a several days stay to see the coffee plantations, and we took her for our guest and interpreter. We drove in low carriages each drawn by four of the little native ponies. The native footmen ran by the sides and urged the horses on by wild cries in going up the mountains. The coffee plantations were beautiful, with their small white blossoms on the trees, and the mountain air was very delightful. We stayed for several days and it was a pleasant interlude to life on the sea. Each afternoon there was a shower of rain with thunder and lightning that made the air very refreshing.

Our next stop was at Soerabaja, a much larger city and here we began taking on our cargo of crude sugar, hemp, etc. to be carried to England. The approach to the city was through a long canal and it was most interesting to watch the women washing on the bank and the naked little children of all ages disporting themselves in the water. We celebrated both Christmas and New Year's Day here, but in the tropical heat it was hard to get the cheerful atmosphere of snow and merry sleighbells. We had one amusing excursion while there—to Blue Lake in a lovely tropical park. There were quantities of monkeys on the trees and we bought a big bunch of bananas with which to feed them. It was very interesting to watch them, the big old grandfather monkeys would allow only the mothers with little babies clinging to them to come up and be fed, while the papas and bachelor uncles had to keep their distance. They finally swarmed in such numbers that I put the bunch of bananas behind me and attempted to feed them one at a time. One sly old fellow crept up behind me, grabbed the whole bunch and ran off with it. My small brother was much entertained, but at the same time was almost afraid of the old monkeys as large as himself. We spent about four months in Java very happily, but when the time came to turn homeward we were quite ready to depart.

We had a slow passage out the Straits of Bali with head winds, but when fairly in the Indian Ocean the voyage went comfortably and we did not have as heavy storms rounding the Cape of Good Hope as on our outward voyage. We caught some fish on our homeward way, albacore, barracuda, etc. We had a mechanical way of fishing. The hook with bait and line floated in the wake of the ship, held by a slender bit of twine, when the pressure came of a fish on the line the twine broke and a wooden rattle sounded, and we ran to see what was secured. The sailors sometimes harpooned a porpoise from the bows, and the liver was quite good to eat. Once or twice we caught sharks just for sport, and the Chinese cook cut off the fins and dried them for food. The Chinese consider them a delicacy for soup.

In going north we passed in sight of the Island of St. Helena, and we thought of Napoleon and of his lonely exile there. We were to call at Falmouth, England for orders and we arrived there the latter part of April, after 110 days from pilot to pilot. Falmouth is a beautiful city, built on a hillside and with so mild a climate that it is called the English Riviera. The entrance to the harbor is guarded by two castles. Our ship was anchored about two miles from shore, and we greatly enjoyed the beautiful landscape spread out before us in its springtide luxuriance. The first Sunday we went on shore to service in an old parish church. The soldiers from the garrison marched in to the sound of martial music, and when "Onward Christian Soldiers" was sung by choir boys and congregation it was most inspiring.

The latter part of the voyage my father suffered a great deal from his old affliction of asthma, and we feared the English climate for him, as it had previously proved unfavorable. However he was able to attend to his business affairs and we were planning an excursion on shore to celebrate May Day in the fields, but it was not to be, for he passed quietly away in his sleep as the result of a weakened heart. When the Chinese cook who had been with him for several voyages heard the sad news, he asked to come to the cabin and with streaming eyes he took my father's body in his arms moaning "My Captain, my Captain." It was a touching spectacle. After the necessary formalities were complied with, the body in a casket covered with the American flag was borne in the ship's boat to the shore, while the flags of all the American ships in the harbor floated at half mast. Our beautiful and comforting church service was held in a dignified mortuary chapel in a cemetery on the hillside and there the weary voyager was laid to rest.

The ship's agent was very helpful to us and obtained passage for us after a few days on the Cunard S.S. *Samaria* sailing from Liverpool to Boston. We went by train through the English countryside to Liverpool, stayed overnight at a hotel there and embarked on our homeward journey the next morning. The ten days' trip across the



Atlantic was uneventful. We were met by my father's older brother James, then taken to a cousin's house (it was my uncle's home) for luncheon and then established on the railway train for Newburyport for our sad homecoming.

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### PRIVATEERING IN SHIP *FRANKLIN*, 1780.

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Woburn March 28, 1780

I Josiah Porter of Woburn having Entred on board the Ship *Franklin* now in Salem harbour Commanded by Capt. John Turner of Salem for a Cruse of three months have Received of Mr. Zebadiah Wyman and Col. Loammi Baldwin both of Woburn the Sum of one hundred & fifty pounds Lawfull money in full for one fourth part of my Share of all prizes & prize Goods that Shall be due to me from P. Ship when P. Cruse is made out or till her arival back again In penalty of not fulfilling the above I promise to pay Zebh. Wyman & Loammi Baldwin the Sum of four thousand pounds Lawfull money on demand

Witness my Hand

Attest Bartholomew Richardson Josiah Porter  
— *Baldwin Mss., Essex Institute*

Woburn March 28, 1780

To The Agent or Agents for the Ship *Franklin*  
Commanded by Capt. John Turner  
Sirs. Please to pay to Mr. Zebadiah Wyman & Col. Loammi Baldwin one fourth part of my Share of all Captures Prizes and Prize Goods which Shall be due to me the Subscriber on account of the above P. Ships Cruse and in so doing you will oblige your Hume. Sert

Attest Bartholomew Richardson Josiah Porter  
— *Baldwin Mss., Essex Institute*

MILITARY SERVICE OF  
COL. ARTHUR TREADWELL DALTON, 1898-1932

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THE ONLY PROFESSIONAL ARMY OFFICER FROM SALEM

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*(Continued from Volume LXXXVIII, page 300)*

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In Manila, I visited the office of Henry W. Peabody and Co., commission merchants, a very old firm which originated in Salem and Boston. As a small boy I remember seeing Manila cigars or cheroots, as they were called, on sale in the apothecary shops of Salem, which had been brought back by Salem vessels. While shopping one day in one of the leading retail stores of Manila, and purchasing an article of merchandise, the small box in which they placed it, bore the label of Daniel Low and Co., Jewelers, Salem, Massachusetts. This long established firm is still in existence.

Again Salem "bobbed up," when in company of a brother officer of my regiment and being driven in the business section of Manila, I heard a pedestrian shouting an old nickname of mine, from school days. I knew at once that it was someone from Salem. The nickname was one that was, of course not known away from Salem, and I saw no reason to voluntarily impart it to new friends. The nickname was "Dolly," and might imply effeminacy in my school days, of which I was never accused. It was derived from the first syllable of my last name, and my older brother had also been given it. Upon hearing this nickname, I ordered the "cochero" of our vehicle to stop. There appeared a young Salem man, by the name of Roy Bartlett, who had served with me in the Massachusetts Militia just before the Spanish War. He was in the Philippines as a clerk in the Civil Government and stationed at Malolos, a few miles north of Manila. When we exchanged surprised and welcome greetings, if he called me "Dolly" once, he mentioned it at least twenty-times. Knowing that my brother officer was taking it all in, I



COLONEL ARTHUR TREADWELL DALTON





knew that later, I would be good-naturedly "razzed" and my prophecy came true. It was a month before I heard the last of it.

After a few months in Manila, I was appointed Battalion Quartermaster and Commissary of the 3rd Battalion, at Camp Gregg, Bayombang, and proceeded to that Post for duty. I assumed the duties of Post Quartermaster and Commissary. The town of Bayombang was not very far from the Gulf of Lingayen, where the Japanese landed in World War II, and began their march south, finally entering Manila. There was the ordinary garrison duties at Camp Gregg. In December 1903, orders were received relieving the 27th Infantry from further service in the Philippines and to return to the United States. Accordingly, the Regiment in January 1904, embarked on the U.S. Army Transport, *Logan* at Manila and sailed for San Francisco, California. The Regiment had completed two years Philippine service, most of the time in the Moro country in Mindanao. The Regiment was now greatly depleted, about one-half of the strength, 1700 officers and men, when we arrived in 1902, having received no replacements. We were all glad to be going back to the good old U.S.A.

From Manila our first stop was to be Nagasaki, Japan. Just before sailing, I received a cablegram from Nagasaki signed Fred Lake, telling me he would be on the dock when we arrived. I was not certain just who Fred Lake was, but I immediately recognized him as a young man whom I had known many years ago in Salem. He was in the commission business, a business started years before by two uncles, who went from Topsfield, Massachusetts, to Japan. The transport took on coal at Nagasaki, necessitating a stay of five days in that port. During this time, Fred Lake was most hospitable and made the stay very enjoyable.

It was a most interesting sight to watch the coaling of the large transport. It was done wholly by hand by Japanese women, from coal-laden lighters brought alongside the transport. The women formed an endless human chain from the lighter, to the transport and return. Small

coal-laden baskets were conveyed on the tips of the womens' fingers to the transport, with amazing speed and the empty baskets returned in the same manner to the lighter to be refilled. This fueling of the ship took five days for completion. Even this seemed rather wonderful at the time, when one considered that the immense ship was "coaled" entirely by hand and by women.

At the time of our arrival at Nagasaki, 1904, the Russian-Japanese War had just started and we saw Japanese troops embarking for the battle-front. Nagasaki was a good sized city and very interesting to the sight-seer, especially the retail stores. Facing Nagasaki Harbor was the Nagasaki Hotel, a very large and beautiful place. During the coaling of the Transport, we naturally made the Hotel the starting point of our sight-seeing trips. The Manager of the Hotel, an Englishman, impressed upon us the bad custom of Army and Naval personnel and civilian tourists, temporarily passing through the city, of over-paying for services, especially the rickshaw men. The rickshaw is the very common two-wheeled vehicle, drawn by a Japanese coolie between the shafts, in place of an animal. The rickshaw's seating capacity is only one person, and very comfortable. The hiring of this vehicle was the habitual method of sight-seeing tours. Japanese money, at that time was worth only one-half of U. S. Currency. I can still remember hiring a rickshaw in front of the Hotel, and starting out on my first sight-seeing trip, at about ten o'clock A.M. I arrived back at the Hotel about three P.M. Remembering the Manager's advice, I went into the Hotel to ask him what I should pay the rickshaw man, after our five hour trip. To my utter amazement, he told me pay him exactly twenty sen and no more. This was ten cents in American money. Of course, I argued that this amount was ridiculous, but he persisted in saying, twenty sen and no more, adding "that we have to live here." I returned to the rickshaw man, and immediately became an "accessory" to the high cost of living, by giving him a silver U. S. dollar, equivalent to two yen in Japanese money. The coolie withdrew with his rickshaw, but kept halting and bowing until out of

sight. I didn't have the heart to pay him less after watching him jog along, and waiting for me for about a five hour sightseeing trip. Needless to say, this transaction was kept secret from the Hotel Manager.

Leaving Nagasaki, our next stop was at Honolulu, Hawaii, and three days later, we left for San Francisco. Upon arriving, we went into camp at the Presidio of San Francisco for five days, awaiting rail transportation East. Orders were received in San Francisco, for the Regiment, to go to Fort Sheridan, Illinois and Columbus Barracks, Columbus, Ohio, Headquarters, Band, 1st and 2d Battalions to Fort Sheridan and the 3rd Battalion to Columbus Barracks. Columbus Barracks was located in the heart of the city of Columbus, and besides being a Battalion Post, was also a Recruit Depot, or distributing point for recruits. As I was 3rd Battalion Quartermaster and Commissary, I went with my Battalion to Columbus Barracks, Ohio, where I assumed these duties. In addition, I was detailed as Post Exchange Officer, Prison Officer, Commanding the 5th Company of Recruits and Judge-Advocate of a General Court-Martial. The service at Columbus Barracks was very pleasant, with the advantages of being in a good-sized city. Many social activities at the Post and in civilian circles in town, were much enjoyed.

In the fall of 1905, the 3rd Battalion was ordered to Fort Sheridan, where the Regiment was again united. Fort Sheridan was a Regimental Post, twenty-six miles north of Chicago, on the shores of Lake Michigan. Here we performed the usual garrison duties. In 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt ordered that all U. S. troops make a practice march of 200 miles or more each year, a 36-mile march each month and a 12-mile march each week. Also that all mounted officers complete a 90-mile horse-back ride annually. In the summer of 1906, the Regiment began a 240-mile march from Fort Sheridan to Camp Benjamin Harrison, 10 miles from Indianapolis, Indiana. The march took 12 days, Sundays excluded, averaging about 20 miles a day. Upon arriving at Camp Benjamin Harrison, we went into camp, where we were

to remain for about four months, to assist in the field training of National Guard troops from the Middle Western States, who were continually reporting for two weeks training. Upon completion of this service the Regiment was ordered to return by rail to Fort Sheridan. The Colonel of the Regiment asked permission from the War Department, which was given, to march back to Fort Sheridan, making a total of 480 miles. Upon arrival we found orders from the War Department, for Headquarters, Band and two Battalions to proceed to Havana, Cuba, for service.

Cuba was being re-occupied by the United States, on account of chaos and corruption in their self-government. Major General Leonard Wood was ordered to command all U. S. forces in Cuba, and established his Headquarters at the small town of Marinao, seven miles from Havana. We had had only three days at Sheridan, after our long march, when we left by train for Newport News, Virginia. Here, we boarded a chartered transport, the *Senaca*, and arrived in Havana Harbor three days later. We were then assigned for station, at Camp Columbus, six miles from Havana and one mile from Marinao, General Woods Headquarters.

Having previously undergone the required physical and mental examination for promotion, I expected my promotion to the grade of 1st Lieutenant any day now. However, in February 1907, I was detailed by the Commanding General, to take charge of one hundred dishonorably discharged soldiers, sentenced to imprisonment, and convey them to Fort Jay, New York at Governor's Island, New York Harbor. Having delivered the prisoners, I received the anticipated orders promoting me to 1st Lieutenant, and assigning me to the 22nd U.S. Infantry at stations in and around San Francisco, California. I then requested a month's leave of absence, before joining my new Regiment, and for a very good personal reason. I intended to be married. The month's leave being granted, I proceeded to Salem, Massachusetts and on March 14, 1907, was married to Miss Frances Ann Perley of Salem. After the wedding reception, following the church cere-



mony, we left for California, and I reported to the Commanding Officer 22nd Infantry at Angel Island, California for duty. I was assigned to a Battalion of the Regiment, at Alcatraz Island, in San Francisco Bay. Alcatraz was then a Military Prison where dishonorably discharged soldiers were serving long terms for serious offenses. The Battalion of the 22nd Infantry was doing duty as guards of the prison. This was rather a drab Army station for my bride's first Army post.

Two rather unusual incidents occurred on our honeymoon trip to California. At Chicago, where we had a brief stop-over, we were met by two former friends of mine, one a Lieutenant, stationed at Fort Sheridan, and the other, an Ex-Captain of the Army. On the train, enroute to California, we read in the newspaper that the ex-Captain had forged the name of an Army disbursing officer to some Government checks, had succeeded in cashing them to the extent of a few thousand dollars, and was now a fugitive from justice. About a year later, he was apprehended in British Columbia, returned to the United States, and sentenced to a long prison term. The second incident occurred, when our train reached a small junction point, named Sparks, Nevada. Here we were held up for 48 hours, by severe floods on the main line to California. Passengers from California to Goldfield and Tonopak, Nevada, the branch line from Sparks, were delayed for the same reason. During this delay at Sparks, we met a fine looking young married couple, who were on their way to Goldfield, and stated that they had recently lived in Nome, Alaska. They knew all the officers stationed at Fort Davis, whom I also knew. The day after we arrived at Alcatraz, the San Francisco newspapers bore glaring headlines and an account of a cold-blooded murder at Goldfield, Nevada. To our great amazement, the killer was the man we talked with at Sparks! It seemed that while they were living in Nome, Alaska, his wife became enamoured of a suave White Russian, and left her husband. However, she later repented and went back to her husband. Although, naturally enough, not confiding in us at Sparks, they were then on their way to Goldfield for

the express purpose, so the newspapers alleged, of killing the Russian whom they had learned was in Goldfield! It seems that the husband and wife entered a saloon, where the Russian was also a patron, and the husband shot and killed him without a word. He was later tried at Reno, Nevada, but acquitted. If I remember correctly, his defense was "the unwritten law." That we should meet a forger and a killer, on our short honeymoon to California, we thought most unusual.

Service at Alcatraz was a rather monotonous life, guard duty being paramount with frequent inspections of the prison and inmates. We were very glad after six months, that the War Department designated military prisons as Disciplinary Barracks and Special Officers and enlisted men were assigned in place of Battalions of a Regiment. Accordingly, the Battalion of the 22nd Infantry was relieved and ordered to proceed to the Presidio of Monterey, California, 125 miles south of San Francisco. This was a Regimental Post, situated on high ground overlooking the quaint and still quite Spanish town of old Monterey, on the shores of Monterey Bay. Monterey was the first capital of California. We found service here most delightful, with an ideal climate, never too hot or too cold.

At the Presidio, was the 20th U.S. Infantry. Many of the 20th Infantry officers were old friends of mine, so I applied for a transfer to that regiment, which was granted. The Commanding Officer of the Post was Colonel Marion P. Maus, 20th Infantry, an officer with a distinguished military record. He was a graduate of West Point, Class of 1874, and as a young Lieutenant participated in many Indian campaigns, the most notable of which was the Geronimo campaign in the Southwest, finally resulting in the capture of Geronimo, a famous Indian chief, who had defied U. S. troops for a long time. In this Campaign, the then Lieutenant Maus, had an eye shot out, and was awarded the Medal of Honor, for extraordinary bravery, under fire. Later, Lieutenant Maus was Aide de camp to Lieutenant General Nelson A. Miles, Commanding the United States Army. In the summer of 1908, Colonel Maus was promoted to the grade of Briga-

dier General, U. S. Army. He was ordered to command all troops in the Northwest, with Headquarters at Vancouver Barracks, Washington. This command was then known as the Department of the Columbia, comprising the states of Idaho, Oregon, Washington and the Territory of Alaska. Colonel Maus, in being sworn in as Brigadier General at Monterey, appointed me as Aide-de-camp on his staff; General officers of the Army are authorized to appoint their personal Aides-de-camp. A Brigadier General is allowed two Aides, with the rank of Lieutenant and a Major General is entitled to two aides, one a Captain and one a Lieutenant. Higher ranking General officers are allowed Aides of higher rank.

In a few days, I left with General Maus, for our new station, Vancouver Barracks, Washington. The Barracks adjoin the small city of Vancouver, Washington, which is six miles from Portland, Oregon, across the Columbia River. A very old Army Post, but now with modern barracks and officers' quarters. General Ulysses S. Grant of Civil War fame was stationed at Vancouver Barracks, as a Captain and his quarters are now used as the Officers Club. Besides Vancouver Barracks being the Headquarters of the Department of the Columbia, it was at that time the station of the 1st U. S. Infantry, commanded by Colonel George K. McGunnigle. The Barracks are located practically in the town of Vancouver, Washington, having then a population of about 11,000. The Columbia River, separating at that point the States of Oregon and Washington. Portland, Oregon, an up-to-date city is only 6 miles west of Vancouver, and a ferry-boat from Vancouver took you to the Oregon shore, and a trolley car took you into Portland. Mt. Hood, Mt. Ranier and two other all the year round snow-capped mountains are seen plainly from Vancouver and Portland.

In the Spring of 1910, General Maus having made frequent inspections of Army posts in Oregon, Washington and Idaho, decided to inspect the six Army posts in Alaska, a trip covering about 12,000 miles. Accordingly, on May 1st, we left Vancouver Barracks for Seattle, to board a commercial steamer for Skaguay, Alaska. Leav-

ing Seattle and Puget Sound, the steamer enters what is known as "The Inland Passage," the narrow strip of water running North between the mainland of British Columbia on the East, and its numerous islands on the West, and later between a narrow strip of Alaska on the East, and its islands to the West. On the northern end of the Inland Passage, is the Alaskan town of Skaguay, 1100 miles north of Seattle. The trip through the Inland Passage abounds with the most beautiful scenery, and numerous magnificent water-falls are frequently seen. The first stop after leaving Seattle is the Alaskan town of Ketchikan, a distance of 700 miles. It has a population of 1500 people, and is the distributing point for the mines and fisheries of that section of Southeastern Alaska. Of course, Alaskan Indians are a part of the population and many "totem poles" can be seen. One very large and expensive one was erected to the memory of a powerful Alaskan Indian chief, by his nephew.

Our next stop was at the town of Metlakatla, Alaska. Here it was that a Mr. William Duncan, a lay worker of the Church of England, came to Alaska from his native England in 1857. He wanted to work among the Alaskan Indians and improve their condition. The Indians located along the Southeastern Coast of Alaska were considered most in need of missionary work, and especially in the Metlakatla region, where the Indians were the lowest in the scale of human intelligence, and had been accused of cannibalism. However, although urged not to locate there, Mr. Duncan chose this region as fertile ground for his missionary work. In 1910, when we visited Metlakatla and talked with Father Duncan as he was now called, although never having been ordained as a minister, we could easily discern a man of courage, patience and perseverance. He told us very modestly of his many past vicissitudes. Now a very elderly man, he was most beloved by the Indians, who had learned that his word was as good as a bond. Father Duncan had over the years taught the natives to be self-supporting. He had established them in various industries, viz:—carpentry, shoe-making, cabinet making, tanning, rope-making and



boat building. The women he taught to cook, sew, keep house, to weave, and to care for the sick. Today, Mehla-kahtla is an ideal town and community, all the result of the great work of Father Duncan.

Juneau, the capital of Alaska, was our next stop. It is a town of about 2,000 population and located on the waters edge, at the foot of Mt. Juneau, a towering peak of 3,000 feet at the eastern side of the town. Juneau was named for Joseph Juneau, a miner, who came to the region in 1880. In the early days, Juneau passed through many exciting years. It started with a great stampede and rush for gold, which was like the Klondike rush of 17 years later. In 1881, gold was discovered on the claim of one John Treadwell on Douglas Island, located across the narrow channel from Juneau, where the large and famous Treadwell Mine is now located, and the famous "Glory Hole" from which a seemingly inexhaustable supply of gold is still being mined. It is claimed that the Treadwell Mine is the largest quartz mine in the world.

At Juneau, after an official call by General Maus upon the then Governor of the Territory of Alaska, Governor Wolford B. Hoggatt, we were entertained by the Governor, at the Executive residence on Capitol Hill overlooking the town. From Ft. Seward we found a Government launch awaiting us, which we boarded for a trip to the Taku Glacier, south of Juneau. It is located in an inlet of the Inland Passage. It is a live glacier and our launch went to within 400 yards of it. It was a magnificent sight seeing the enormous fragments of the glacier dropping off the glacier itself, and the skipper of our launch was busy maneuvering the launch, so that we would not come in contact with the huge ice-bbergs, many of them were as large as a big building, and could easily capsize our small boat. The colors of the icebergs were beautiful, ranging from a light blue to a deep indigo. From the Taku Glacier, we again entered the Inland Passage and headed north past Juneau, to Fort Seward, the Headquarters of the 22nd U. S. Infantry. After an inspection of this post, we again headed north, to the northern end of the Inland Passage, where the town of Skaguay, Alaska is located.

Skaguay is the town which was the scene of stirring events in the rush to the Klondike in 1897-1918. It began as a city of tents, sheltering a continual transient population of many thousands during the Klondike rush. It was here that the notorious and infamous "Soapy" Smith, a Skaguay Saloon Keeper, was the master mind behind a gang of ex-criminals and cutthroats, who robbed (and in many cases murdered) prospectors coming into Skaguay and others returning from the Klondike with their gold nuggets, or "poke," as it was called. Later, "Soapy" Smith was killed by some of his infuriated victims. We arrived at Skaguay on May 15th, ready to begin the long trip to Northern Alaska, via the Yukon River. However, we learned that the ice in the Yukon had not yet broken up so we awaited developments before proceeding from Skaguay to Whitehorse, the headwaters of the Yukon. Skaguay, with a population of about 2,000, located between towering snow-capped mountains, was very picturesque and a good place to await the breaking up of the ice. From Skaguay to Whitehorse, a distance of 111 miles, runs the famous White Pass Railroad, a most wonderful engineering feat of the world over the Summit of White Pass Mountains. The magnificent scenery compares favorably with that of the Swiss Alps. Finally on May 25th, we received word that the ice was breaking in the headwaters of the Yukon and accordingly we left Skaguay, via the White Pass Railroad for Whitehorse. The President of the Railroad graciously tendered General Maus the use of his private car, which was attached to the train. Leaving Skaguay, one begins at once the tortuous mountain climbing and arrives at the Summit of White Pass. This point is the Boundary Line of Alaska and Canadian Territory, where a detachment of the Northwest Mounted Police is stationed. At the Summit flies the American Flag and the British flag, marking the Boundary Line. It was a great sight looking down from the Summit and seeing, thousands of feet below you, the "ghost" town of White Pass City, which during the Klondike rush had a floating population of over 30,000 people. It was the stopping place, prepara-

tory to making the perilous climb over the Summit. Leaving the Summit, we commenced the downward grade, and skirting the shores of the famous Lake Bennett, where in the mad rush to the Klondike gold fields near Dawson, boats were built to be used on the Yukon. We reached Whitehorse, a town of about 1,000 population, and here a commercial river steamer awaited us, which we immediately boarded. The Yukon River from Whitehorse flows for a distance of 2,400 miles to its exit into Behring Sea. No sooner had we left than we were delayed by ice piled up in the river ahead of us, in fact, our steamer proceeded immediately behind the slowly moving ice. As we approach Dawson City, the scenery becomes more and more wonderful, the Yukon flowing between towering cliffs. Between Whitehorse and Dawson City are the famous "Five Finger Rapids." At this point, the Yukon narrows to about 150 yards and five massive perpendicular rocks stretch across the channel, as if challenging the further passage of the river steamer. Their partial obstruction causes a boiling whirlpool, and we watched the skipper as he skillfully maneuvered the boat through these great stonewalls. At times the bow and the stern of the steamer almost touching them.

Arriving at Dawson we found it to be a typical mining town of about 10,000 inhabitants, that 10 years before was the mecca of the gold hunters, the Klondike. Then it was a lawless mining camp in the mad rush for gold. Today it is an orderly town, and the mining properties are owned by large companies. At Dawson, every spring, the people bet on the exact hour, minute and second, that the ice in the Yukon will move sufficiently and permanently, allowing the resumption of water transportation. The person being lucky enough to guess nearest the exact time, receives the large pool of money that has been wagered. A white flag inserted in the ice at a certain point is watched by thousands, and when this flag has moved a certain distance, it is a certainty that a permanent breaking up of the ice has occurred. Only a day before our arrival, this had happened, and we talked to an old miner, the lucky winner of a pool of \$30,000. At Dawson there

is a large detachment of the Canadian Northwest Mounted Police and Dawson is also the Capital of the Yukon Territory and the residence of the Canadian Provincial Governor. Both the Governor and the Commanding Officer (Inspector) of the Mounted Police entertained us royally. At Dawson, a Government Steamer from Fort Gibbon awaited us for the remaining long trip down the Yukon. Leaving Dawson, our next stop was at Eagle City, Alaska, adjoining which is the U. S. Army Post of Fort Egbert, garrisoned by two Companies of the 22nd U. S. Infantry. Fort Egbert and Eagle City are 130 miles north of Dawson, but 100 miles north, we leave Canadian Territory and re-enter Alaska. After an inspection of Fort Egbert, we left for Fort Gibbon, Alaska, 500 miles distant.

From Whitehorse all along the Yukon River at every settlement, the Alaskan dog in summer, is much in evidence. The dog of Alaska is the beast of burden and thrives in the winter. There are two breeds, one called a "Malamut" and the other known as a "Huskie." Both are part wolf. They are driven with harness hitched to sleds, and teams of five to seven with a good dog leader can not only haul several hundred pounds, but can make great speed. Of course, the one-man driver figures in good and fast "mushing" as they call it. In the summer they are as a rule turned loose, and they frequent the river front, especially as the steamers ply back and forth on the open Yukon, bringing supplies to the settlements. The dogs invariably congregate on the shore opposite the galley of the steamer, looking for food to be thrown to them. Unlike our dogs, they eat fish, especially salmon. Believe it or not, we saw cans of salmon being thrown to them and the dog with his sharp teeth tears open the can and in no time at all, devours the contents. A can opener could do no better job. It is a common joke that the Alaskan dog can read the label on the can. At every Army Post dog kennels are maintained and the dogs in winter carry supplies over the ice to the remote Signal Corps Cabins.

The U. S. Army Signal Corps operated the telephone and telegraph system in Alaska, and cabins about 25 miles



apart are garrisoned by one Signal Corps man and one Infantryman. The Signal Corps man is responsible for the maintenance of the lines in his section, and the Infantryman generally did the cooking. It is a most lonesome and hazardous duty during the winter months.

The river steamers use wood as fuel and replenish at frequent points along the river, where wood-piles are owned and operated by Alaskan woodsmen. They clear a handsome profit in supplying the steamers during the rush of the summer season. The replenishment of the fuel is called "wooding up." In Alaska, a "sour-dough" is a man who has spent one continuous year in Alaska and has been "frozen in" during the winter. A "cheechaco" or "tenderfoot" is one who has not met that qualification. It is hard to believe that mosquitoes are a pest in certain places in Alaska during the short summer, but such is a fact. When the steamer is wooding up or tied up to the shore of a settlement, the mosquitoes swarm in large numbers. It is amusing to see the old "sour-dough" pay scant attention to them, even when landing on his face. He casually brushes them off, while the "cheechaco" gets out his handkerchief and waves it constantly in an endeavor to keep them away.

Between Fort Egbert and Fort Gibbon, the Yukon River reaches its most northern point, in the Arctic Circle, at Fort Yukon, an old Hudson Bay trading post. We arrived at Fort Yukon on June 21st, the longest day of the year, and it was most interesting to observe the sun reach the horizon and then "come back" without setting, in fact, a full 24 hours of daylight. Continuing down the Yukon from Fort Yukon, we finally arrived at Fort Gibbon, which adjoins the small town of Tanana, getting its name from the Tanana River, a tributary of the Yukon, which flows south from Fort Gibbon and Tanana. Fort Gibbon was garrisoned by two companies of the 22nd U. S. Infantry. As two years before, I belonged to the 22nd at Alcatraz and Monterey, California, I enjoyed renewing my friendship with the 22nd officers at all the Alaskan posts. Soon after arriving at Fort Gibbon, Salem again came into the picture, for the officers there told me

that a Rev. Mr. Peabody of Massachusetts, who knew me, had heard of our expected arrival and had visited the Post for the past few days in order to greet me. It proved to be the Rev. Charles Winthrop Peabody a native of Salem, who attended Salem High School with me. He had since become an Episcopal minister, and was a Missionary in Alaska, administering to about 400 Alaskan Indians and Eskimos at a settlement three miles from Fort Gibbon. He invited me to visit his settlement the next day, as they were holding what is called a "pot-latch." It is what we would call a picnic. The Indians squat in circles around large mats, which are heaped with food, and they eat, drink and become merry. An amusing incident to me, occurred at this "pot-latch." In 1905, on the Transport returning to the United States from the Philippines, it was rumored that upon arrival in San Francisco, my Regiment then the 27th U. S. Infantry, would be ordered to Alaska for duty. This rumor, however, proved unfounded, as we went to Fort Sheridan. In view of the rumor, we naturally were much interested in an album of photographs of Alaska, which was the property of a Lt. McCoy of the Regiment, who had joined the 27th Infantry in the Philippines after serving with the 7th U. S. Infantry in Alaska. Included among the photographs was one of a very pretty Eskimo girl. Lt. McCoy explained that she was called "Short and Greasy" and had been employed as a servant by officers' families. To go back to the "Potlatch," as we were watching the proceedings, the Rev. Mr. Peabody was pointing out to me some of the Indian chiefs and telling me their names, when he pointed to a woman and said "that is Short and Greasy." I, at once, told him that I felt as if I knew her, as I had seen her picture in an album on my way home from the Philippines. Am sorry to say that she had lost most of her beauty, for Eskimo women age quite rapidly.

After inspecting the troops at Fort Gibbon, information was received of the discovery of gold in the Iditarod Region. This Region is about 1,000 miles south of Fort Gibbon and reached via the Panana and Innoko Rivers.

The General then decided to visit this place, as there might be a possibility of having to send U. S. troops there. Accordingly, we entered the Tanana River and our first stop was at Fairbanks, a thriving mining town of about 3,500 population. After a brief stop, we continued south and finally entered the Innoko River, a small tributary of the Tanana River. It was most interesting to see hundreds of small boats, heavily laden with persons rushing madly to be among the first to arrive at the gold fields, and "stake" their claims. We arrived at noon at what was already called Iditarod City, and which comprised about 50 tents. The next morning we saw a city of at least 1,000 tents, a bank had been opened, and it was a small edition of the rush to Dawson and the Klondike, 10 years before. However, later it was found that the vein of gold had "petered out" and it soon became a "ghost" city. Leaving Iditarod City we again headed north and arrived again at Fairbanks. Here on June 25th we learned that Nome was still frozen in. Getting back to the Yukon River, at Fort Gibbon, we continued down the Yukon. The river gradually widens as it approaches its mouth into Norton Sound, a part of Behring Sea. Along the lower Yukon, we passed many settlements with Russian names, and more and more Eskimos were seen. Finally reaching Norton Sound, and then going North for about 50 miles, we arrived at St. Michaels. This is another U. S. Army Post, garrisoned by two companies of the 22nd Infantry.

I just missed seeing my brother, Captain Harry F. Dalton of the 16th U. S. Infantry, at St. Michaels. The 16th Infantry was scheduled to relieve the 22nd Infantry in Alaska. My brother was to command the two companies of the 16th at St. Michaels. Had it not been for a delay in the sailing date from San Francisco my brother would have been there on our arrival. During the inspection of the 22nd Infantry the General indicated some improvements which should be made by the new Commanding Officer when he arrived, and it was with great glee that I made out a memorandum of certain things to be carried out, to be delivered to him. The memorandum

was tantamount to an order, and was signed by me, by order of the Commanding General. As my brother, of course, outranked me, I knew what his reaction would be when he received these orders, signed by me, his kid brother as 1st Lieutenant, Aide-de-camp. He jokingly wrote me later, that my name meant nothing to him. After inspection at St. Michaels we proceeded across Norton Sound, 130 miles to Nome.

We arrived at Nome on June 30th and the ice was just beginning to break up in Behring Sea. In Northern Alaska there is no spring or fall, it goes from eight months winter to summer in a few days, and the ice once it starts moving, disappears in the same length of time. There is no harbor at Nome, only the open sea, and even in summer, it is difficult to land on account of the constant terrific and pounding surf. At the time we arrived several commercial steamers bringing in much welcome supplies were standing off about two miles from shore in the partial ice. Dog teams with their sleds were alongside the ships and being loaded with supplies to be taken ashore over the ice. It was amusing to observe that the first supplies to come ashore by dog sleds were barrels of whiskey, etc., and kegs of beer. Nome in 1910, was a most picturesque mining town with a large population of Eskimos. The summer population was about 7,000, and the winter population about 4,000. From about July 1st to October 15th, Behring Sea is open. The last steamer to leave for the States is on or about October 15th, and then the long eight months of winter begins and Nome is "frozen in." Among the ships in Behring Sea, was the U. S. Revenue Cutter *Bear*. This Coast Guard ship had been in Alaskan waters for years and was known as an "ice-bucker" because its bow was of solid oak, making it possible to plow through the ice and reach a point much nearer the shore than any other ship. We met the officers of the *Bear* and they had many interesting stories to tell.

Gold was first discovered in 1898, on Anvil Creek in the hills behind Nome by three Swedes named Jafet Lindberg, Eric Lindbloom and John Bryntison. Later in 1890, gold was discovered on the beach, and became known



and famous as "the Nome beachline." In 1900, there occurred a mad stampede of 15,000 people to Nome.

Upon arriving at Nome, we stayed at the only hotel in town. "The Golden Gate" Hotel, and as everywhere in Alaska prices were very high. There are no coins less than 25 cents, and a breakfast at the hotel consisting only of toast and coffee was one dollar. Two miles from Nome was the U. S. Army Post, Fort Davis, and garrisoned by two companies of the 22nd Infantry. After the inspection at Fort Davis, we returned to Nome to await a steamer to take us back to Seattle and were scheduled to arrive in 10 days. In the few months of summer, restaurants and saloons keep open all 24 hours, and people swarm to these places and eat, especially the perishable food that has just come from the States. The 4th of July was the occasion of a great celebration. It started in the morning with boat races, in the Alaskan canoe or Kyack, then in the afternoon they had a military and civic parade, including U. S. Army troops from Fort Davis; detachment of the Coast Guard, the Nome Fire Department and civic organizations. It was headed by the Mayor of Nome, in the only automobile there, and the General and I rode with the Mayor. At a reviewing stand, we turned off and watched the rest of the parade. Large numbers of Eskimos were among the spectators. After speeches by the Mayor, the General and others, a reception for the General took place in the early evening. At midnight, we went to a park where a baseball game began, ending about 3 A.M. Then to a grand ball sponsored by the fraternal organization "The Eagles," ending about 7 A.M. At Nome there was an interesting club called the "Log Cabin Club" to which the wealthier men of Nome belonged. At this club we met Jafet Lindberg, one of the discoverers of gold in 1898. A few years later in San Francisco, I met Eric Lindbloom another discoverer, at the St. Francis Hotel.

On July 15th, we boarded the commercial steamer *Victoria* for the trip to Seattle. The *Victoria* had been plying for 10 years or more between Nome and Seattle, and we were told that it ought to be condemned as unsea-

worthy. This was not very encouraging news to us. However, we made the long ocean trip safely. The distance through the Aleutian Islands is nearly 3,000 miles and consumed 10 days. Arriving back at Seattle, we took the train to Portland, Oregon, and thence to Vancouver Barracks, having completed about 10,000 miles in this inspection trip of a few months. After the continuous 24 hour daylight in Alaska, it seemed strange to have darkness in the evening of each day.

In September of 1910, the General was ordered to command maneuvers at American Lake, outside of Tacoma, Washington, which lasted a month, and I accompanied him.

In October 1909, at Vancouver Barracks, I met with an injury to my left ankle, as a result of my horse stumbling and falling on it. At the time, it was diagnosed as a sprain. However, no X-ray pictures were taken. On my return from American Lake in October 1910, it was still very painful. X-ray pictures were taken, showing that I had originally sustained a broken ankle, which of course, had never been "set." Therefore, I was ordered to proceed to the Presidio of San Francisco General Hospital, now named the Letterman General Hospital. After five weeks treatment, no improvement resulted and I returned to Vancouver Barracks. In December 1910, I received orders to proceed to the Walter Reed General Hospital, Washington, D. C. for further observation and treatment, but after five weeks treatment there was no improvement. Then in 1911, I was ordered to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, and after a few months, was again ordered to a hospital, this time, to the Army and Navy General Hospital, Hot Springs Arkansas. After treatment there was ordered to Boston, Massachusetts in 1912, ordered to join my Regiment, the 20th U. S. Infantry as Assistant Recruiting Officer. Later, in 1912, I was at Fort Douglas, Utah, located in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, 3 miles from Salt Lake City.

An amusing incident occurred on the train as we were nearing Salt Lake City. We were to arrive there at 11 A.M. and at about 9 A.M. I dropped into the smoking

compartment of the Pullman car, and found three traveling salesmen discussing whom they intended to call upon, to sell their particular merchandise. They asked me what concerns I intended calling on, and I replied that I was not a traveling salesman. They then insinuated that I was probably a man of wealth and didn't have to work for a living. I informed them, that on the contrary, I worked for a very large concern. After keeping them guessing for a few minutes, I told them that I happened to be a 1st Lieutenant in the Regular Army and to be stationed at Fort Douglas. Almost in unison they wanted to know "what we wanted an Army for, there was no war." In utter disgust, I threw up my hands and left the smoking room. This shows the apathy of many civilians in time of peace towards adequate peace-time preparedness.

Fort Douglas, high up in the foothills, commands a wonderful view of Salt Lake City and Great Salt Lake is easily seen about 20 miles distant. West of the City, the famous canons of the Rockies, named Butte and Emigration Canons, enter Fort Douglas immediately in rear of the officers' quarters. These are the canons through which the Mormons, under Brigham Young, first entered Salt Lake City and made their settlement. Even in summer, I would often ride my horse into the gradual rise of the canons, and within 30 minutes or less, be in the snow-line. Salt Lake City is a most beautiful city, one of the best laid out cities of the United States. The Mormons, of course predominate and are a very cultured and religious people.

On Thanksgiving Day 1912, Officers call sounded and we were told to prepare our companies for duty on the Mexican Border. Francisco Villa, the Rebel General, was attacking the Mexican Federal Army at the border town of Juarez, directly opposite El Paso, Texas, and bullets were coming in there endangering El Pasoans. The following day the 20th Infantry boarded a troop train for El Paso. Arriving there the Regiment marched to Fort Bliss, 4 miles east of El Paso, and we went into camp. Our duties consisted of patrols along the Rio

Grande River to protect our Border, and a number of small camps on the Rio Grande were established by some of the 20th Infantry companies.

Soon after our arrival, General Villa had succeeded in driving the bulk of the Federal Army, under General Huerta, across the border at the Texas town of Marfa, about 100 miles from El Paso. Huerta's Army numbered over 5,000. Four 20th Infantry officers, including myself, were ordered to Marfa to convey the 5,000 to Fort Bliss for internment. Later, 800 of Villa's Army, who had crossed the Border into the United States, were brought to Fort Bliss and interned. A large barbed-wire stockade was built at Fort Bliss, and I was appointed Assistant to Lt. Col. Frederick Perinks 20th Inf. who was in charge of the stockade. In 1914, the interned Mexicans were transferred to Fort Wingate, New Mexico, and I was delegated to take charge of 1,000 for their safe arrival there by train. Later they were all transferred to Brownsville, Texas, a Border town, and turned loose in Mexico.

I remember well, in 1914, attending a movie theater in El Paso, which showed the effects of the great Salem fire. One scene was of Lafayette Street, which was hard to recognize. Another incident, I shall always remember, was the tragic death of General Pershing's family (with the exception of one son) at the Presidio of San Francisco, when their quarters were burned to the ground. I remember the quarters occupied by Mrs. Pershing and her children, as I once occupied quarters only a few yards away. General Pershing commanded the 8th Brigade, of which the 20th Infantry was a part, on the Border. I was fortunate in acquiring one of the permanent quarters, a small stucco house in Old Fort Bliss, and Gen. Pershing's quarters, were just beyond. As I was leaving my quarters one morning Gen. Pershing in civilian clothes was passing by, and I joined him. As we walked along, I said to him "Are you going on leave, General?" to which he replied "Dalton, I have just received terrible news. My wife and children have been burned to death in a fire occurring in their quarters at Presidio, San



Francisco, and I am on my way there." I wished then that I could have dropped into a hole in the ground.

In 1915, I became due again for foreign service, and was transferred to the 2d U. S. Infantry at Fort Shafter, Honolulu, Hawaii. Arriving at Fort Shafter, a Regimental Post 3 miles from Honolulu, I was assigned to command the Machine Gun Company of the 2d Infantry. Hawaii is certainly the "Paradise of the Pacific." The climate is ideal, the temperature range being from 70° to 90° the year round. The tropical vegetation is beautiful and a profusion of magnificent flowers everywhere. There are beautiful places to visit on the Island of Oahu. The Pali, a very high cliff overlooking the ocean; Diamond Head at the entrance of Honolulu Harbor; beautiful parks, one containing a Peacock farm; very fine hotels, three of them being the Alexander Young Hotel, in the center of the city, having a wonderful roof garden restaurant and commanding a picturesque view; the Royal Hawaiian Hotel and the Moana Hotel at Waikiki Beach. Waikiki Beach is famous for its ideal sea-bathing and its skilful surf-boat riders. The young Hawaiian lives in the water. When the U. S. Army transport arrived in Honolulu Harbor, it was met by twenty or thirty young Hawaiian swimmers encircling the steamer, and looking for pennies to be thrown to them. Today it is at least quarters or more, instead of pennies. The guitar and ukelele are in evidence everywhere at Waikiki, on street cars, played by the young people.

The population of Hawaii, consists of many Nationalities, among them being the pure Hawaiians, decreasing steadily in numbers, Chinese-Japanese, Malays from the Philippines, Samoa, and the Solomon Islands, Koreans, Porto Ricans, Portuguese, and of course, Americans, English and Germans. There have been many inter-marriages between these different races of people. Quite near to Waikiki Beach was the bungalow of Jack London, the famous writer, now deceased. Jack London and I became very good friends. On many Saturday afternoons he would invite a few friends to a sort of "open house," and would read excerpts from books which were soon to

be published. Mrs. Dalton and I attended many of these informal affairs. The Lunar Rainbow is a frequent occurrence in Hawaii and we often got up in the night to witness this remarkable rainbow caused by the rays of the moon. The shopping district of Honolulu was very up-to-date, and there were very large markets, where fish was much in evidence. The native Hawaiian is very fond of fish and in many cases eats it raw. They say we eat raw oysters and clams. We occasionally attended a "luau" or Hawaiian feast, and the popular dish is a concoction of fish and other ingredients, having the consistency of mucilage, which is conveyed to the mouth on the fingertips, knives, forks or spoons being "taboo." I could not give it a "blue ribbon" for a great delicacy.

July 1916, I was promoted to Captain of Infantry, and assigned to the 2d U. S. Infantry, after over 15 years service as a 2d and 1st Lieutenant. In February 1917, after almost two years service in Hawaii, I was ordered to San Francisco, at the Presidio, to await a new assignment. As World War I was imminent, I asked to be assigned to Europe, should hostilities begin, but an Examining Board ruled that because of the injury to my ankle, I was not fitted for combat duty. Instead, I was ordered to Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, 10 miles from Chattanooga, Tennessee, to assume the duties of Quartermaster or Supply Officer. Arriving there, I found troops pouring in, and in a very short time totaled 35,000. The 6th Regular Army Division was being mobilized; these were 800 German Naval prisoners of war interned there; a camp of 2,500 U. S. Doctors, who had been given commissions in the temporary Army, and were receiving preliminary training as military doctors. A cantonment had to be built in Chickamauga Park, to shelter this large force. The building of the Cantonment was let to an Engineering firm in New York, which moved their large personnel in to begin work, and all this was under my supervision. I realized that I had a stupendous job ahead of me. In my supply office, I had a force of 150 civilian clerks, and requisition after requisition had to be sent to Washington for the necessary food and clothing supplies. All the

troops and civilian personnel had to be paid, and I was disbursing over one million and a half dollars each month. As Construction Quartermaster I paid the Contractor, upon the completion of the Cantonment, the sum of seven million dollars in two Government checks of three million five hundred thousand dollars each.

In March 1918, I was ordered to college duty at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, as Professor of Military Science and Tactics in charge of the R.O.T.C., Reserve Officers Training Corps, at that institution. With our participation in the war, the ROTC was expanded and became the Student Army Training Corps, and the Unit numbered over 5,000 students, who were enlisted in the Army. I was appointed Commanding Officer.

In 1919, I was ordered to Fort Slocum, New York, and commanded a company. Fort Slocum was a Recruiting Depot where recruits were sent and distributed to Army posts in all parts of the United States. While at Fort Slocum, I was delegated to take detachments of recruits to Camp Grant, Illinois, and to Fort Barrancas, at Pensacola, Florida. In 1920 I was made a Major and commanded a Battalion at Fort Slocum. Then in 1920, I was ordered to Newark, New Jersey, in charge of all recruiting offices in New Jersey. In 1921, I was ordered to the University of Maryland, at College Park, Maryland as Professor of Military and Science at that institution. Later, in 1921, I was ordered to Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania, at the head of the ROTC, and during the summer vacations of the College was sent to Camp Meade, Maryland, in charge of all Reserve Officers, taking a course at that camp. In 1922, I was made a Lieutenant Colonel and ordered to Boston, in connection with the training of Reserve Officers. In 1929, I was ordered to Gloucester, Massachusetts, in charge of the Junior ROTC Unit at the Gloucester High School. In 1932, I was ordered retired from Service, on account of my injury, and proceeded to my home in Salem, Massachusetts, after over 34 years of active service in the Regular Army.

NOTES FROM A JOURNAL KEPT ON THE  
QUEBEC EXPEDITION, 1759-1761,  
BY ASHLEY BOWEN OF MARBLEHEAD

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF THE  
MARBLEHEAD HISTORICAL SOCIETY

*Concluded from Volume LXX, page 266*

A List of Ships of the Line and frigits in the Rever St.  
Lawrence under Vice Ad Sanders 1759 V2

Frigits	Rates	Ships	Commanders	Guns	Men	Divisions
Lowestaff	3	Bedford	Capt Fowke	64	480	
Zephye	D	P Fredrick	Routh	64	480	
Richmend	D	Terrible	Collings	74	600	
Cormorant	2	P Amelia	Phill Durell Esq	80	665	Rear Adm Blew
			Capt Bray			
Porcupine	3	Devenshier	Gordon	66	520	
Foy	4	Southerland	Rous	50	350	
Diane	3	Somerset	Hughes	64	480	
Scrbrough	4	P Oregue	Wallis	60	420	
Lizard	D	Pembroke	Wheelock	60	420	
Visciveses	3	Starling Castel	Everitt	64	480	
Hine	D	Shrewsbury	Polliser	74	600	
Scorpine	2	Neptune	Chals Sanders Esq	90	770	Vice Admerell Ble
			Capt Hartwell			
Euras	3	Orford	Sprye	70	520	
Squirrel	D	Allceed	Douglass	64	500	
Rodney						
Cutter	D	Captain	Amhust	64	480	
Sea horse	4	Centureon	Mantell	50	350	
Strombalk	3	Trident	Legge	64	500	
Trente	2	Roy William	Pigot	84	750	
Hunter	3	Dubling	Chals Homes Esq	74	615	Rear ad Blew
			Capt goostroy			
Eaco	D	Van guard	Swanton	64	520	
Race horse	4	Midway	Proby	60	420	
Pilliacan	3	Northumberl <sup>d</sup>	R Hon Lord Colvel	70	520	
Baltimore		of the Line 22				
23		Ditto for		D	D	
Ditto		year 1760				
Pensants	3	Northumberl <sup>d</sup>	Reg Hon L <sup>d</sup> Colve	70	520	Commander T
Dianer		Van guard	Com <sup>d</sup> Swanton	64	520	Scon <sup>d</sup> In Comand
Lezard		Trident	Legge	64	500	
Lowestaff &		Allceed	Anwrson	64	500	
Corres Lost	4	Pembroke	Wheelock	60	420	
Race horse	D	Prince Oreg	Wallis	60	420	
Porcupine	D	Southerland		50	350	
Oengents	D	Kingston		60	420	
	D	Falkener		50	350	
	D	Rochester		50	350	



## REMARKS ON BOARD SCHOONER "SWALLOW" IN RIVER

St Larance Cept by me A. B[owen] on S<sup>d</sup> Schooner

Monday June y<sup>o</sup> 16 1760 this morning Small winds  
at noon a Brees at SE at 6 Pm Saw ye Western Shore  
at 8 Evening Cape Rosor SSW 4 Leagues No Mairtin

Tuesday y<sup>o</sup> 17 this day AM a Smart Brees @ ESE  
at noon the great Vally bore SSE 6 Leagues Magdeleer  
pint WNW 6 Leagues distance from Shor 4 Le

Wednesday y<sup>o</sup> 18 the Corrant Is So Strong I find We  
have not gained anthing this twen four hour

Thursday y<sup>o</sup> 19 This day much Rain Small wind Gitt  
nothing forward In company ye Comendore

Friday y<sup>o</sup> 20 this morning morderate at Noon St Arzne  
S S W 8 Leagues at 4 P M Saw y<sup>o</sup> Lowland to the West  
Ward of Cape Catt Strong Tide

Saterday y<sup>o</sup> 21 this morning Saw y<sup>o</sup> Land on the North  
Shore a bot Wild Goos Rever the fogge at Noon Spook  
Sloop & Schoone Crouser from Quebeck at Eight Eve  
Came too an anchor at the Is Beck with y<sup>o</sup> Commodore  
and Sum of our fleet

Sunday y<sup>o</sup> 22 this day wind Westorly Lay between  
Queen Island and Apple Island all day

Monday y<sup>o</sup> 23 this day Lay as per last between Gree and  
Apple Island Pased by us Three Men of War two of y<sup>o</sup>  
Line and a frigit the french maid *Many Smooks* on the  
South Shore

Tuesday June ye 24 this day sailed as far as Hear  
Island.

Wednesday ye 25 this day Ley at the Pilgrems

Thursday y<sup>o</sup> 26 this day this Evening Came to Sail  
and Sailed as far as we darest tell Daylight Wind Easterly

Friday y 27 this day at noon Pased His Majty Ship  
*Pembroke* Leying at y<sup>o</sup> Island of Cuder took on board a  
frence Pilote to Carry us threw the Travis at Night  
Came two at y<sup>o</sup> East End of Orlens Rain

Saterday y<sup>o</sup> 28 this day Anchored at Quebeck Ware  
we find me Lord Collvell with five pail of the line & two  
frigits

Sunday y<sup>o</sup> 29 Ley at Quebeck Anchored hear His Ma-  
jesty' Ship *Pensants* of 40 Guns.

Monday y° 30 Sailed to y° Island of Orelens and Landed our Cattel Saft on the Island of Orelens

Tuesday July y° 1 this day Lying at the Island of Orleans Wind bound cleaned Schoon above & Below

Wednesday y° 2 this day Came to Quebec

Thirsday y° 3 this day lying at Quebec Landed our Corne and

Friday y° 4 this day lying at Quebec Landed our Wartor Casks

(Here is a sketch of hills with titles:)

"Island St Paul N W B W Distence 7 Leagues;" "Is Cape North Bareing West Distence 9 Leagus Note B. is parte of the North Cape as C. D.;" "Cape Roy Bareing N E 7 Leagues, Note A A Belongs to Cape Roy."

Thursday June y° 12 1760 at 8 A M Lying Be Calmed in the Schooner *Swallow* I made the above Remarks vez The Island St Paul Bareing N W B W Distence 6 or 7 Lea

The North Cape Bareing West Distence 8 or 9 Leagues with the Land Belonging to the South ward of it as A B C D & and the west En<sup>d</sup> of Newfound Land or Cape Roy Baring the pich N E 7 or 8 Leagues with the Land that trenches to the S E of it with the Snow on the hills

Cape North Latt in	47=01	N Long	60=05 W
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Island St Paul	" 47=17 N		59=55 W
----------------	-----------	--	---------

Cape Roy	48=00 N		58=00 W
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Friday Septem y° 5 This day Ley for Orders off Quebec

Saterday y° 6 Ley off Quebec for Ordors Wind Westerly

Sunday y° 7 Lying off Quebec wind westerly this Evening came on board 160 Soldors and Seven Offesers and I came to Sail for Jack Carte<sup>1</sup> as y° french had fiered on Col Fras

Monday y° 8 this Evening anchored against point a Tremble and Ley all night

Tuesday y° 9 this day Turned all day at Night Anchored Ny His Majesty Ship *Southerland* about 12 Leagues above Quebec

1 Probably Jacques Cartier.

Wednesday y 10 Wind Easterly at 8 morning our Troups Landed at Jack Carte<sup>1</sup> and atacked a forte which the french kup, and Gan up the fourt this Evening So I saw the Last cannon fired in all the Cannaday Expedition in anger

Thirsday y° 11 this day Wind Easterly Mch Rain Ley to

Friday y 12 this day wind Easterly Came to Sail and bound to Quebeck with our Troups again

Saterday y 13 this day wind Easterly Landed our Troops at Quebeck again

Sunday y° 14 Wind Westorly Laying off Quebeck

Monday y° 15 Wind Westorly Laying off Quebeck

Tuesday ye 16 Wind W Sailed to ye West End of Island of Orelens westerly

Wednesday Sept y° 17 1760 Ley at Orelens

Thirday y° 18 Wind Easterly much Rain Sailed to the East End of Orelens and Ley all Night

Friday y 19 wind Easterly Recieved on board Sum provisions from y° Island Orelenes

Saterday y° 20 much wind Easterly Shifted Our berth Round to the Wood Cove on Orelenes

Sunday y° 21 Bloos hard Easterly

Monday y° 22 wind Westorly We Run to the East End of Orelens

Tuesday y° 23 wind Westorly Sailed to the West End of Orelens

Wednesday y° 24 wind Easterly Landed our Goods on y° West End of Orelens

Thirsday y° 25 Wind Easterly blow hard Laying at Orelens

Friday y° 26 Wind Easterly took on board our Goods again from y° Island Oreleans

Saterday 27 Wind Easterly Sailed from the Island of Orelenes Run past Quebeck anchored at Wolf Cove ware Ley the Rack of y° Ship faer a mara<sup>2</sup> Capt Tomson whoom had beet over y° Travises Rocks

Sunday y 28 wind Westorly Received on board 152 Barrels of Dammaged flower from y° *Fair America*

2 *Fair America.*

Monday y° 29 Wind Easterly Came on board Sum women and children bound for Mount Royal

Monday (sic) y 30 Ley off Cape Dimon Wind Easterly Rain

Wednesday October y 1 1760 Ley off Cape Dimon Wind East Recived on board 34 Barrels of Damnaified flower from the Wrack of the Ship *Fair America* Capt Tomson of London

Thirsday y° 2 Recived on board 111 barrels of flower from y° Rack

Friday y 3 Wind Easterly Recived on board 35 Barrels of flower from y° Wr

Satterday y 4 Wind Easterly Recived on board 6 Barrels of flower from y W

Sunday y 5 Wind Easterly Recived on board 12 barrels of flower from y° Rack

Monday y 6 Wind Easterly Recived on board 30 barrels of flower from y Rack

Tuesday y 7 Wind Easterly we Dropped our Vessell Down agains<sup>t</sup> Chals River

Wednesday y 8 Small winds or Calm Lying at St Charls River

Thirsdays y 9 lying at St Charls River wateing for Ordors

Friday y 10 lying at Charles River Sailed His Majestys Ship *Northumborland*

Saterday 11 wind Easterly lying at S<sup>t</sup> Charls River for Ordors

Sunday y° 12 wind Westorly this Evening we halled in to y Main Rever

Monday y 13 Wind Easterly ley off Quebick Rec<sup>a</sup> on boar 399 B<sup>l</sup> flower & Beef

Tuesday y 14 wind Easterly much Rain Dropped up of Cape Dimond & ley

Wednesday y 15 wind Westorly ley at Cape Dimond Pased us Sum Transports

Thursday y 16 Wind Westorly Dropped up y° Rever bound for Mount Royal

Saterday y 18 wind Westorly at flood we Came to Sail & tacked to y° Lastolf



Sunday y 19 wind Westorly at flood Came to Sail  
Sailed to Jack carte

Monday y 20 wind Eastorly Sailed all day Could  
not gitt Threw y Narrers

Tuesday y 21 wind Westorly ley at Jackcare Sum  
Snow Smart Cold

Wednesday y 22 wind NE Sailed threw the Narrow  
about 5 Leagues

Thirsday y 23 first part wind Westorly Evening  
wind Eastorly this Night we Sailed up the Rever tell  
within 3 Leag of three Revers

Friday y 24 first part wind Eastorly Sailed tell with-  
in 1 Leag of 3 Riv at 4 this afternoon Came to Sail  
Sailed Past the three Rivers and pased by us four Sail  
Bound for Quebeck the last night a man was Drowned  
out of Capt. Stanford

Satterday October y 25 1760 wind NE Sailed a  
Cross Lake St Peters the Brigg that the Pilott was on  
board of gott aground and I followed the Schooner *Murry*  
and Sailed tell within a league of the River Sorell and  
Came Two

Sunday y 26 Wind Southerly ley blow the River  
Sorell Tid bound Sailed for Quebeck Sloop *Morry* the  
mastor of which Dide of Small Pox

Monday y 27 wind S W leying Below Sorell Sum  
Rain

Tuesday y 28 wind SW leying below Sorell Sum  
Rain

Wednesday y 29 wind SW leying as p last Pased  
Slope for Quebec

Thirsday y 30 wind SW leying as p last Employed  
a wooding

Friday y 31 wind NE Sailed Past the River Sorell  
a league

Saterdag Nover y 1 wind Eastorly Sailed two leagues  
this day

Sunday y 2 wind Westorly Pased us Capt Phillips  
for Quebeck in Brigg

Monday y 3 wind SE leying in the Reech above  
Rever Sorell

Tuesday y 4 wind Easterly Sailed till within a league of St Supleus

Wednesday y 5 Wind SW Pased a Sloop from Mount Rw for Queb

Thirsdays y 6 wind SW leying at S<sup>t</sup> Suplees Corrant Bound

Friday y 7 Wind SW leying as por last St S<sup>t</sup> Supleas

Saterday y<sup>o</sup> 8 small wind Northerly Sailed two miles Came two

Sunday y 9 wind NE much Snow Sailed tell within two m<sup>l</sup> of Mount Row

Monday y 10 M<sup>r</sup> Wear went to the City of Mount Royall

Tuesday y 11 Wind SW Smart Cold M<sup>r</sup> Wear went to y<sup>o</sup> City

Wednesday y 12 leying in an Eddy to y<sup>o</sup> East End of an Island that ley<sup>d</sup> a brest of the City of Mountroyal This Evening Capt Hobs Crosed the River and goot Saft to the landing we could not gitt a Cross

Thirday y<sup>o</sup> 13 this morning Small winds veearable this Evening much wind and Snow we Sailed a Cros y<sup>o</sup> River and came to the North Shore I bleve that the Courent Runs Nine Knotts be twene the City and the Island we carried Sail tell the Wartor Came in to our Hors holes and gott none ahead

Friday Novem y 14 1760 wind NE We Sailed to the City of Mount Royal and ley a Quortor of a mile below y<sup>o</sup> wall of y<sup>o</sup> city

Saterday y<sup>o</sup> 15 Wind SW Smart Cold

Sunday y 16 Smart Cold

Monday y 17 Wind NE Delivrd Sum Beef and flower on Shore

Tuesday y 18 wind Southerly Sum Snow Smart Cold

Wednesday y 19 Wind NE Delivered Sum Beef and flower on Shore

Thirsdays y 20 Wind N W Smart Cold Delivered all our Beef & flower Recived on board 14 head of Cattel for Sant Supleas Snow two feet on a level

Friday y<sup>o</sup> 21 Wind Northerly ley at Mount royal

wateing for Ordors Note Gen Gage's Grovener of M Royal

Saterdag ye 22 Wind Westerly left the City of Mount Royal in Company with five Sail in all vz Hobbs Standford Puddingtun Mackey and Bowen Puddentun got a ground we Shove him off

Sunday y 23 Wind NE We Dropped as far down as St Supleas

Monday y 24 Wind SW Sum Rain Delivered all our Cattel

Tuesday y 25 Wind N W leya at St Supleas Smart Frost Cleer

Wednesday y 26 Wind NE a Smart Storm of Snow

Thirsdays y 27 Wind NE a Smart Storm ley at St Supleas

Friday y 28 Wind NE a long storme Evening Sum more mordorate

Saterdag 29 Calm Dropped two miles lower down y<sup>e</sup> Rever

Sunday y 30 this day Come to Sail and the french Pilote wold not Carry us threw Lake St Peters and we all Run in to the River Sorell and ley a long side the Bank a bout a half a mile within the mouth of the River and 44 Sail of us ley hear all Winter vz Hobbs Stanford Purintun Bowen &c

Decem 1 Wind N W 2 wind West 3 wind SE Snow 4 wind N.E Snow 5 wind w 6 wind NW Cold 7 wind SW on bent Sails 8 wind N W 9 N W cold 10 NE Snow 11 wind SW Snow 12 Wind SW 13 wind NW Rever frose over Snow 3 fett 14 wind NNW 15 wind WNW 16 wind S W 17 wind NW 18 wind NW 19 wind WNW 20 wind ENE Snow 21 wind NE Snow 22 wind NNE big Jigs (Tids?) 23 wind WNW 24 wind NW 25 wind SW 26 wind SW 27 wind SW 28 wind NE Snow Small Pox Breef [sic] on both Sids the Rever 29 wind NE much Snow 30 wind N.W 31 wind WNW

January y 1 1761 wind Westry Smart Cold 2 wind Westerly Cold 3 wind NNW 4 wind WNW 5 wind Westerly Cloudy 6 wind SW Mordor 7 wind Northerly

8 wind Westorly Sum what warmer 9 wind NE Snow  
 10 wind Southerly close weather 11 wind Westorly close  
 weather 12 wind Westerly Smart Cold 13 wind West-  
 orly 14 wind NE cold 15 wind NE Sum Snow 16 wind  
 Westorly fair weather 17 wind WNW Sam<sup>l</sup> Creage  
 Sent on Shore Supposed to have the Small Pox 18 wind  
 NE much Snow Mr Nason mate of Capt Hobs Sent on  
 Shore with Small Pox 19 wind SW Soft aire 20 wind  
 Westorly 21 wind WNW now 22 wind NE cold 23  
 wind Eastorly Snow 24 wind Westorly Cold 25 wind  
 Westorly Nicholas Miller Sent on Shore with Small Pox  
 26 wind NE Clear weather 27 wind NE 28 wind NE  
 Sum Snow 29 wind Westorly Sum Snow 30 wind NE  
 Sum Snow 31 wind Westorly fair weather

February y<sup>e</sup> 1 Wind Westorly pleas 2 wind Eastorly  
 Sum Snow 3 wind Eastorly fair and cold weather 4  
 wind Westorly fair weather Dd Nick Miller of Small  
 Pox 5 wind Westorly 6 wind NE Snow 7 wind SW  
 Sum Rain 8 wind SW Rain 9 wind Westorly Sum what  
 warmer 10 Southerly 11 wind vearable Soft weather  
 12 wind NNE Creage harth the Small Pox Now

A List of Churches & wind Mills on the River St  
 Lerenance from Mount Royall to y<sup>e</sup> Is of Bick

North Shore	Churches	Mills	South Shore	Churches	Mills
at Mount Royal	5	2	Second	1	1
first Is on No Shore	1	0	fourth	1	0
thurd	1	1	Sixth Busher Mill	1	1
fiveth Pint a trenbal	1	0	Eight Grand St Tuer	1	1
Seventh St Sempleas	1	1	tenth pete St tuere	1	0
Nineth	1	0	twelf Sorell	1	1
Eleventh	1	0	Lake St Peaters	2	1
Lake St Peters	2	0			
at 3 Revers	3	1	Below 3 Rever	6	3
first chirc Nor Below					
3R	1	0	Note their is this	14	8
Second	1	1	number of churches on		
thurd			ye South Side ye Rever		
catis poney Rever	0	1	St Learanc Betune		
St Ann Rever	1	1	Quebec & Morey <sup>a</sup>		
Next to St Ann	1	1			
pint Shambo	1	1	At Point Lever	1	1
Jack carte	1	0	St Charles	1	1



North Shore			South Shore		
	Churches	Mills		Churches	Mills
Next Below Jackcarte	1	0	St	1	0
Pount A Tremble	1	0	St Michael	1	1
Next abov Quebick	1	0	St	1	0
<hr/>			Against the Cormorask	1	0
This number Is on	25	10	against Grine Island	1	0
booth Sides the Rever	14	8	at St Barnebaes	1	0
<hr/>			<hr/>		
St Learen Between				22	11
Quebeck and Mt Royal	39	18	<hr/>		
<hr/>			cn ye Island Orlews	7	2
At Quebec Sittee	6	1	and Chappels Is		
At Legglatt	2	0	<hr/>		
Bow porte	1	0	Sum to tell South Side	29	13
Below Mount Merency	2	1	<hr/>		
Above St Paul &c	2	0	the hole number of	52	20
<hr/>			<hr/>		
Sum totel North Side	52	20	churches and wind		
			mills wartor mills un-	81	33
			<hr/>		
			knoune Between St		
			Bareby and Mount Royal		

Wednesday April y 1 1761 wind NNW cold weather  
 Laying in the River Sorell 2<sup>d</sup> wind SW this morning y<sup>e</sup>  
 Rever Sorell broak up and the Ist Came down and Caried  
 all before It y<sup>e</sup> 3 Wind SW fine warme weather our  
 Vessel afloat again y 4 wind Easterly Rain 5 wind  
 Westerly Snow 6 wind NW cold y<sup>e</sup> 7 wind WNW  
 Smart Cold 8 wind SW Came from a bove us two  
 Sloops one Capt Nucas whom had leyen at St Tuer all  
 winter 9 wind WSW Bent Sails 10 Westorely Sum  
 Rain 11 wind Eastorly fair Lews Sails to Drye 12 wind  
 Wearable Warme 13 wind Eastorly we halled off in y<sup>e</sup>  
 Rivier Sorell feare weather 14 wind NW cold a Ladd  
 Drowned 15 wind NE cold 16 wind Westorly Sum  
 Rain Came in hear a Schooner that wintered a bove  
 17 wind Westorly fair weather 18 this day all thee fleet  
 which Ley in the Rever Sorell this winter Came out in  
 y<sup>e</sup> Main Rever 19 this morning Calm have up and  
 Towed all Day and Came three forth threw the Lake S<sup>t</sup>  
 Peters this evening Came two 20 this morning at Day-  
 light hove up anchor and Towed and came past the three  
 Reviers and Came two about 8 Leagues above the Rap-

patts Small winds Eastorly all hands Came two 21  
 wind Eastorly Obliged to Ley hear to Lett y° Iste pass us  
 22 this day Small winds Eastorly hove up Anchor and  
 Dropped as Low Down as Point Trembel and Came Two  
 Calm 23 wind Eastorly this morning hove up Anchor  
 and Turned tell within two Leagues of the Narrows and  
 Came Two 24 wind Eastorly this morning Came to Sail  
 and Turned threw the narrows and came two at Woolfs  
 Cove and leye tell noon then we all of us Came to Sail  
 again and Sailed to Quebec and we mored off the Town  
 or City 25 Ley at Quebec 26 Ley & 27 Ley & 28 Ley  
 & 29 Ley & 30 Ley &

May ye 1, 1761 Ley at Quebec 2 Ley @ 3 Ley @ 4  
 Ley @ and A Laid? from Boston 5 Ley at Quebec y° 6  
 left Quebec 7 Left E End Orelens y° 8 Came threw y  
 Travis and pased Cuder & Comme Pilgrams Heare and  
 Green Islands 9 Came up w<sup>th</sup> Island Beck 10 this day we  
 Came past Cape Catt 11 this day Sailing for Scateree<sup>3</sup>  
 12 this day pased Scateree 13 pased Lewisburg 14 Came  
 pas<sup>t</sup> Whithead 15 pased Whit Island 16 Calm 17 foggy  
 18 Small wind 19 off Cape Sable 20 fogy 21 Latt

May 22, 1761 at 4 this morning saw Mentacus y° 23  
 at 8 this morning saw Edmentas this Evening arrived at  
 Cape Nedick y 24 Ley at Cape Nedick 25 Ley at Cape  
 Nedick 26 Sailed for Boston 27 arv at Boston FINIS

This is to be observed in Cannaday that their is A Mill  
 to Every Church in the Cunterey So the Miller and  
 Preest are boath Imploy<sup>d</sup> at once Wiles the Preest is a  
 giveing Absalution the Miller is a grinding your Grists

[Scraps of writing in front of book]

Sunday June y° 22 1760 this morning a Smart Rangal  
 by Reson of the Wack Being Cheeated by Joseph Pribble

Friday June ye 27 1760 this day as We pased Cuder  
 Island we find His Majestys Ship *Pembroke* lying [illegi-  
 ble] came to her We ware Boared by her cutter with the  
 Paser and a midship Man and D<sup>m</sup>Mate the Paser said If  
 any accadent Should a Rise by not Taking a french pilote  
 as there was one ofered the Wasell must make all Dam-  
 ages good I said I Came pilote from Boston and wo<sup>ld</sup>  
 take charge of said Schooner [illegible]

3 Scatari Island, Nova Scotia.

[On last page is the following:]

1760

A Journal or Memerandum of a Voyage from Boston to  
Canaday In a Transporte Schooner Belonging To Joseph  
Weare of Old York We Sailed from Boston May y° 25  
in year 1760 Sailed from Lewisburg June y° 10 Arivd  
at Quebick y 28 of June October 16 Left Quebec Bound  
for Mount Royal November 14 arived to Mount Royal  
and Sailed from Mount Rial y° 22, and Come at Sorel  
y 30 November Left Sorell April y 19 1761 Arived at  
Qubec April y° 24 May y° 6 Left Quebec May y° 27  
arived at Boston FINIS 1761

Sailed May 25

Retur May 27

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one yeare 02

[On back of cover this record:]

1813. Ashley Bowen Departed this Life Febry 2<sup>d</sup> after  
an illness of 48 hours

## STUDY OF ZILPAH POLLY GRANT BANISTER NOTED EDUCATOR OF IPSWICH SEMINARY

By HARRIET WEBSTER MARR

Zilpah Grant, a name once better known than that of her assistant teacher, Mary Lyon, but now forgotten even by most educators. Zilpah Polly Grant was born in Norfolk Connecticut in 1794, seven years after the Constitution of the United States was written. When she was two years old her father was killed, and she was brought up by her mother, from whom she learned her Bible, and many hymns, as well as all kinds of housework. A few weeks each year she attended a little country school, and when she was about fifteen she began teaching the summer terms herself. Of her work in the little school she wrote later, "I generally remained in the schoolhouse, after dismissing the school, to ask myself whether for that day I had done as well as I could, and wherein I could do better in the future . . . and what pupils needed personal attention. The next day I acted on the conclusions to which I had the day before come."<sup>1</sup>

During one of the long winters at home she set herself a stint of four hours daily study of Murray's larger Grammar. When she began to doubt the wisdom of this plan she decided that the grammar would do her no harm, but failure in perseverance would!

Her religious experiences with deep "conviction of sin" were agonizing. Finally, when she was nineteen she "found peace," and united with the church. She would have preferred Mary for her middle name, but believing her mother wished her to be called Polly she accepted that name in baptism with no sign of reluctance.

She had many attacks of pleurisy, and like the woman in scripture "suffered many things from many physicians." "For two years I looked into eternity," she said, and her biographer added, "she never knew a day of real health though she lived fifty eight years longer."

From a new pastor who gathered the young people in

1 *Use of a Life*, pp. 20, 21, New York, 1885.





ZILPAH GRANT  
Principal of Ipswich Academy



his home for study she learned of the school for young women, just opened by his brother, Joseph Emerson, in Byfield, Massachusetts. How absurd for a woman of twenty-five to want to go to school! But her family consented, and in spite of scornful remarks by the neighbors she set out in April, 1820, on the three day journey to Byfield. The Rev. Joseph Emerson took her into his home, and a life-long friendship began between them. She had \$50.00. How long would it last? Tuition was 25¢ a week. Did she work her board? She must have taken her turn sweeping the school room floor. When the spring term ended she stayed on, teaching a little and helping Mr. Emerson prepare his *Union Catechism* for the press.

In the spring of the next year, 1821, a new pupil, Mary Lyon, came to the school. She was three years younger than Zilpah, and another life-long friendship began. To the end of their lives these two dignified women addressed each other in their most intimate letters as Miss Lyon, and Miss Grant (or after her marriage, Mrs. Banister). In the fall they both returned to their homes or schools.

A letter from Mr. Emerson told Miss Grant that he was opening a Female Seminary in Saugus, and offered her a position as teacher. There, as she wrote later, she was busy fourteen hours out of the twenty-four.

The trustees of the new Adams Academy for girls in Derry, New Hampshire, offered Miss Grant the position as preceptress, and Mr. Emerson reluctantly permitted her to leave Saugus. She wrote Mary Lyon urging her to come to Derry as one of her assistants. Adams Academy was to be closed during the winter months, and Miss Lyon could return to her schools in Ashfield or Buckland, Massachusetts, for the winter terms.

One of the difficulties that troubled the early academy teachers was the "flitting" pupils, who came for a few weeks only. The announcement of Adams Academy was evidently intended to discourage this, for it read, "It is earnestly requested that all who attend will be able to enter at the commencement and continue during the term." "Tuition \$4.00 for each half term period." Another difficulty was the lack of regular courses. As late as 1860

the subjects of study at Fairfield Academy, Connecticut, were "chosen by the pupils or parents."<sup>2</sup> At Derry, Miss Grant planned three classes with definite qualifications for entrance, no one to be admitted under thirteen years of age except in special cases. Such definite courses made possible the diploma given at Derry. Girls were allowed to take painting only if they had a thorough knowledge of the junior subjects. All were to study the scriptures, and upper classes could have "particular instruction to prepare for teaching." Samuel Reed Hall had opened his Columbian School for Teachers in Concord, Vermont, the year before, but probably Miss Grant had not heard of it, and her plans were based on those of Mr. Emerson's in his schools at Byfield and Saugus.

In discipline Miss Grant introduced what she had recommended to Mr. Emerson, a "self-reporting system." Mr. Emerson had asked the pupils not to whisper "unless necessary," and as any teacher would expect they found it "necessary" altogether too often. When Miss Grant took over she said to the more docile, "If you could avoid whispering altogether I think it would be an advantage to you and to the school." When a large number had agreed, she discussed the matter with the whole school, and they promised to observe the rule and to keep a record of success or failure.<sup>3</sup> In a letter to a teacher years later she wrote, "Pupils must not be expected to report faithfully their own failures in regard to whispering or anything else so long as they have many failures to report . . . [nor] before they have been led to control themselves so as to succeed."<sup>4</sup>

In 1824 the first diplomas were given in a form almost identical with that used later at Ipswich and at Mt. Holyoke:

At Derry— "..... has completed the prescribed course of study . . . and by her proficiency and correct deportment merits this testimonial of approbation."

At Ipswich—"The Principal and Trustees of this academy certify that Miss ..... has completed the course

2 Remarks by O. G. Jennings at Centennial of Fairfield.

3 *Use of a Life*, p. 110.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 286.



of study in the higher branches of education taught in this Seminary, and by her exemplary deportment and laudable proficiency merits this testimonial of their approbation."<sup>5</sup>

At Mt. Holoke Seminary: "This certifies that Miss ..... has completed the prescribed course of study at this Seminary, and by her attainments, proficiency and correct deportment is entitled to the testimonial of approbation."<sup>6</sup>

In most respects Miss Grant's religious attitude was that of the stricter, old-fashioned school. When in 1827 the trustees at Derry voted to have music and dancing in the school as part of the course, she declared she would not consent to have dancing taught. The trustees sent out a circular saying, "It was the original design of the Trustees to establish this seminary on liberal principles. They regret that the institution has acquired the character of being strictly calvinistic. . . . This character has grown up in opposition to the sentiments and wishes of the majority of the trustees . . . The Trustees give their preference to female teachers if such as are competent can be obtained, if not, a gentleman must be employed."<sup>7</sup>

To one who loved her teaching as Zilpah Grant did, and who felt strongly on religious subjects this was indeed a blow. She wrote to Mary Lyon: "The prospect of my separation from this institution has rent my heart more than you will readily conceive. Though I have long considered its interests interwoven with my tenderest affections, I was not aware of the strength of my attachment." She went on facetiously, "My business therefore for some time will be to scratch with a quill pen, and inform the public that I am disengaged."<sup>8</sup>

A minority of the trustees stood by her, and two years later the whole board invited her back, to manage the school in her own way, but she was already well started in the school at Ipswich by that time. Through all this trying period she was on crutches due to a tendon sprained

5 Mss. at Ipswich Historical Society.

6 Hitchcock, *Life and Labors of Mary Lyon*, p. 311.

7 *Use of a Life*, p. 87.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 90.

while practising calisthenics with her pupils.<sup>9</sup>

At Ipswich, Massachusetts, an academy building had been erected in 1825, with the expectation that the shareholders would receive a profit on their investment. This building was leased to Miss Grant free of rent. She was to provide instructors, and furnish apparatus and books.

From the point of view of the teachers, the Ipswich location had the advantage that there were from eight to twelve stages a day, and that there were twenty-five families within one hundred rods of the school who would board pupils. From the point of view of the town, not only would their daughters have an opportunity for an education, but boarding pupils would bring some \$7000.00 into the town yearly.<sup>10</sup>

The forty pupils who followed Miss Grant from Derry to Ipswich and the other out-of-town pupils boarded in private families. How could the preceptress watch over them all? Miss Grant conceived the idea of dividing them into groups of about twenty girls, each group under the charge of a particular teacher who should look after their health, habits, intellectual and moral state, and act as friend and adviser. The teacher was to meet her group every day for reports of performances, for social contact, and for prayer.

The subjects offered, according to the catalogue of 1832, included a surprising variety, much wider than the courses given at Derry.

	DERRY	IPSWICH
Science		Physiology
First Year		Botany
		Geology
Second Year		Philosophy of na- tural history
Third Year	Natural Philosophy Astronomy	

<sup>9</sup> Lansing, *Mary Lyon through her Letters*, p. 69.

<sup>10</sup> Waters, *History of Ipswich*, p. 551.

English Second Year	Reading and Com- position each year Blair's Rhetoric	Reading and analy- sis of poetry
Third Year	Young's <i>Night Thoughts</i> Thompson's <i>Seasons</i>	
Mathematics First Year	Arithmetic year not given	Arithmetic through Interest Euclid Book I
Second Year		Arithmetic Euclid, Books II, III, IV Algebra
History First Year		History of United States, England, Germany Government of Mass. and U. S. Modern Geography
Second Year	History and Chronology	Modern and ancient History and Geography
Third Year	English History	
Philosophy First Year		Watts— <i>On the Mind</i>
Second Year	Watts— <i>On the Mind</i>	Mental Philosophy Natural Theology Butler's <i>Analogy</i> Evidences of Christianity
Third Year		Second year subjects continued

Teacher training courses—second and third year in both schools.<sup>11</sup>

In all this profusion of courses no languages were included. Joseph Emerson, Miss Grant's teacher, had disapproved of languages, especially ancient languages, in the education of women. (Latin was not offered at Mt. Holyoke Seminary until 1840, and not required until 1847.)

The courses in science probably reflect Mary Lyon's interest rather than Miss Grant's. Miss Lyon at differ-

<sup>11</sup> From Catalogue of 1832 of Ipswich Academy. Essex Institute, Salem, has a nearly complete file from 1828-1872.

ent times studied science with Elijah Burritt, author of the *Geography of the Heavens*, with Prof. Hitchcock of Amherst, and with Prof. Eaton of Troy, New York.

In addition to these courses, reading, composition calisthenics and music were required throughout the three years at Ipswich. Miss Grant's biographer said that "her skill in teaching what she called simple reading would in our day have made her distinguished as an elocutionist." She arranged a series of calisthenic exercises to be performed with singing. For the music courses, at times Lowell Mason came from Boston to direct the singing.

There were also informal lectures on dress, health, advantages of mathematical studies, art of conversing . . . evils of exaggerating trivial occurrences. Perhaps from these informal lectures came Miss Grant's remark on personal appearance, "Do you not know, child, that God is more honored and pleased when his creatures look well than when they don't?" She was always good to look upon herself. Gail Hamilton described her as "erect, with golden brown hair, high forehead, piercing black eyes. Kindness, dignity and a stately carriage gave her an air of distinction."<sup>12</sup> No wonder she called her an "American Queen."

It is puzzling to reconcile such a wealth of subjects and Miss Grant's oft repeated statement, "No more than two or three studies to be pursued at one time,"<sup>13</sup> and "the human mind can no more be cultivated to good results by giving attention to many subjects at the same time than the soil can produce good crops by having many times as much seed sown upon it as it can nourish."<sup>14</sup> But the courses were probably short, though there was great emphasis placed on accuracy and thoroughness. "Unfailing accuracy was the standard, and the majority attained it." "In each study let the teachers pursue such a course as will lead the pupils to feel that the text books contain only the elements of the study." And again and again, Review! Review! Review!<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Gail Hamilton in North American Review, Oct., 1886.

<sup>13</sup> *Use of a Life*, p. 102.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, p. 269.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, p. 102.



Public examinations were the order of the day, and when they came at Ipswich, Miss Gilchrist says that "caryalls from Andover rolled over to Ipswich to help swell the audience . . . calisthenics class lightened the mental programme by evolutions performed with a discipline described by one of the teachers as 'not quite equal, perhaps, to West Point Cadets.'"<sup>16</sup>

Methods of teaching included both Joseph Emerson's favorite topical method, and questions to make the pupil think: "Is an inch an idea?" "Are names necessary to numbers?" "If so, must numerical names exist before the numbers exist?"<sup>17</sup>

Miss Grant did not insist on uniformity in methods of teaching. The catalogue of 1839 stated "The peculiar modes of conducting recitation or exercises vary from time to time, or are modified by the particular genius of the individual teacher." She had her own method of keeping records. "It was my practice to put a horizontal mark before the name of each young lady who . . . gave evidence of doing as well as she could. Perhaps the second week at teachers' meeting my inquiry was, what young lady in your class seems to be doing as well as she can? Soon those who were not doing their best were considered individually, and each teacher was led to select one or two or three to labor for personally and privately. Hard cases I took myself."<sup>18</sup> How we wish one of her record books with the little horizontal marks had survived to our day! To her teachers she gave the further advice, "If a scholar does not do well, always look and see if the fault does not lie with yourself."<sup>19</sup>

The catalogue of 1839 stated, "No stimulus of emulation is employed, nor are the pupils encouraged to compare themselves with one another, or to fix their standard at any particular limit of excellence or attainment." She even planned that compositions should be read by some other than the writer. There was no talk of ranks or

16 Gilchrist, *Life of Mary Lyon*, p. 136.

17 *Use of a Life*, p. 103.

18 *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 112.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 107.

marks. Yet in *Hints on Education*, published in 1856,<sup>20</sup> Zilpah Grant (by that time Mrs. Banister) wrote, "A record was preserved of the standing of each pupil in her studies, *founded on the knowledge she had, and not on the manner of each recitation.* (Italics added.) In due time each young lady was requested to examine the record of her own standing. 4 meant thorough knowledge; 3¾ nearly thorough." She went on to say that only very rarely did a pupil consider the mark too low. They were more likely to say it was too high:—"I had been absent two days, and had not made the work up."

A footnote in the *Hints* compares her method with the method of competitive marking then coming into general use: "In wide contrast is the method of merely hearing the lessons repeated . . . using all one's soul in detecting errors of the pupil . . . making up the aggregate of failures, and ascertaining the standing of each pupil by the simple processes of addition and subtraction. . . . The teacher . . . has no estimate either in her head or her heart of the real state or progress of the immortal mind under her care in ability, knowledge, or goodness, nor has an inquiry of this nature deeply, if at all, impressed the teacher's mind."<sup>21</sup>

In discipline, too, rewards and punishments were not considered except for the sense of reward in doing something for the school, and the punishment of humiliation in "self-reporting" for breaking a law for which one had voted.<sup>22</sup>

"A rule for which one had voted!" It was Miss Grant's custom to state fully before the whole school any new regulation she was considering, and how the rule would promote the greatest good of the whole school. "The appeal is then made to the benevolence and judgment of the entire school on the question of adopting the proposed rule. . . . The pupils formally pledge themselves to ob-

<sup>20</sup> Z. P. G. Banister, *Hints on Education*, Boston, 1856, pp. 20, 21.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. Note, p. 22.

<sup>22</sup> Gilchrist, *Life of Mary Lyon*, p. 105.

serve it, and to keep a strict account of their performance or failure."<sup>23</sup>

The September, 1947 issue of the *New England Quarterly* published the notes taken by a pupil in Miss Grant's course for teachers.

The first years at Ipswich were not easy. In 1828 both Miss Grant and Miss Lyon had typhoid fever. Miss Grant's lameness still continued. A pupil of that year told how a strong man carried Miss Grant up the steps on his shoulders, and how she "moved with dignity to the platform on her crutches. After class the pupils were dismissed to their rooms that none might see her carried out."<sup>24</sup>

In spite of these troubles the school was growing rapidly. The average number of pupils during the four years at Adams Academy had been 79. For the eleven years at Ipswich it was 116. In 1831 there were 191 pupils, too many for the accommodations available. In an attempt to limit the number Miss Grant raised both the age and the educational qualifications for admission. She must have been interested in what today is called "pupil teacher ratio," for she maintained it at about 15 to 1.

During all these years Miss Lyon had been away during the winter, teaching at Buckland or Sunderland, Massachusetts, in her own home area. Her pupils came from backgrounds similar to her own, and she said she felt "an increasing inducement to devote my labors to the youth of my native hills. . . . I have a strong partiality for pupils of this region, they are so easily guided."<sup>25</sup>

Her school in the west as well as Ipswich Academy in the east had grown rapidly. In her first year at Buckland, 1824 to 1825 she had 25 young ladies. 1825 to 1826 there were 50. Following that she was at Sander-son Academy as assistant for two winters. In 1828 when she returned to Buckland she had 74 pupils, and 1829, there were 99.

<sup>23</sup> Catalogue of 1839.

<sup>24</sup> *Use of a Life*, pp. 136, 137.

<sup>25</sup> Hitchcock, *Life of Mary Lyon*, p. 57.

No wonder that the fame of both teachers spread. In 1829, the Ministers' Association of Franklin County passed a resolution urging Miss Lyon to remain during the whole year in their part of the state. A letter from Miss Grant to Miss Lyon in this year presents the problem clearly but affectionately; "My attachment for you has increased every year. No other person can supply your place . . . [It is] advantageous to have this academy open during the winter as many wish to attend who cannot devote their time during the summer." A little later she wrote, "If after prayerful deliberation you decide to engage at Buckland for the winter I hope I shall acquiesce patiently and I mean to try to do it cheerfully. But if you should determine on laboring here I shall rejoice. If you love me, yourself, or the cause of education, avoid overwork."<sup>26</sup>

Miss Lyon decided to give all her time to Ipswich. Then the Ministers' Association of Franklin wrote Miss Grant urging her to move her school to Greenfield.<sup>27</sup>

A most tempting offer came from Catherine Beecher, head of the Hartford, Connecticut, Female Seminary. She wrote Miss Grant, "The duties which now fall on a principal cannot be properly performed by one person. Division of labor is necessary. Will you agree to unite with me as principal of this institution? I will agree to secure you \$1,000.00 a year. I know I am seeking my own comfort, happiness, and usefulness. Believe me, I am also seeking yours."<sup>28</sup> Correspondence continued between the two for some time, Catherine Beecher offered that she would introduce uniform dress for the students so that differences in wealth should not keep away the middle class girls in whom Miss Grant was especially interested. The argument that probably had most weight with Miss Grant was the belief that the school would be on such a foundation as to insure its permanence. In a long letter to Mr. Emerson she enumerated her arguments. She found six reasons for accepting, of which

26 *Use of a Life*, pp. 139, 140.

27 Lansing, *Mary Lyon through her Letters* p. 100.

28 *Use of a Life*, p. 142.



# Ipswich Female Academy.

The Principal and Trustees of this Academy certify that Miss Mary Lord has completed the course of study in the English branch of education taught in this Academy, and by her exemplary deportment and successful proficiency, merits this testimony of their approbation.

The Trustees therefore offer their seat at Ipswich, November 20th, this twentieth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty nine.

J. P. Young, Principal.

David J. Kimball

Daniel Foster

Joseph B. Bell

& Nathl. Lord, Jr.

Amos R. Smith

Joseph Foster

Nov 20. 1829

Trustees.



one, and one only was personal, "literary and religious privileges of Hartford would be congenial to my taste, and might so conduce to my own improvement as to increase my usefulness." Among reasons for not accepting is one personal one, "By increasing my care and labor, as I think I must if I go to Hartford, there is danger that my health will fail, and that my active usefulness would consequently be shortened." The other reasons against accepting were that she would not desert the work she had begun at Ipswich, especially the work of preparing teachers, "The number who pursue this business after leaving this school is proportionately greater than the number who leave any other institution with which I am acquainted." She would not desert Miss Lyon, "after having labored with her harmoniously and successfully for six years." There were points on which she and Miss Beecher differed, particularly about the expenses of the school. "The ordinary expenses of a young lady at Hartford for a year . . . cannot be much less than \$250.00 . . . probably not less than \$300.00." Taking all these things into consideration it is evident that her reasons for her final refusal were mainly consideration for others.<sup>29</sup>

In 1830 another proposal came from Greenfield, and still another from Andover. Neither of these were accepted. That year of 1830 was in many ways successful and happy. The doctors had put Miss Grant's lame ankle into a splint, and after a time she was able to discard her crutches. The school enrollment had increased to 300, which would mean a total of 300 in the course of the year, not 300 at any one week, for the problem of the floating pupil still existed. But this enrollment was far too great for the facilities of the school, and the two head teachers addressed a joint letter to the trustees, asking for a building that would accommodate 175 pupils, several recitation rooms, a laboratory, library and reading room; also a boarding house for 150 girls, and a few acres of playground. Waters' *History of Ipswich* says that dissension arose among the proprietors, some even proposing

29 M. E. Harveson, *Catherine Beecher, Pioneer in Education*, Appendix A, pp. 7-25.



to discontinue and return the funds to the original grantors. This motion was voted down, but it served to emphasize how the very life of a school, even one as famous as Miss Grant's might be endangered. Miss Gilchrist in her life of Mary Lyon quotes without date a letter from Miss Lyon to Miss Grant, which says, "They have no idea of doing it [founding a school] except by shares with the expectation of an income. They look at schools generally just as they would at mercantile business."<sup>30</sup>

Miss Lyon had only gradually joined with Miss Grant in the desire for a permanent endowment. At first she had said again and again, "Never mind the brick and mortar; let us have living minds to work upon."<sup>31</sup> In the end she went far beyond Miss Grant in the matter, due to another difference of opinion that was growing between them. Miss Grant felt that girls from the upper middle class who could pay a fair tuition would be most worth educating as teachers. Miss Lyon wanted to make education possible for the poorer class. For such a purpose the school must have a large endowment, and must be free from control by stockholders.

About half the sum necessary for the proposed improvements had been pledged when Miss Grant's health failed, and she was obliged to leave the school for a period that stretched into a year and a half. Miss Lyon as acting principal came to believe that two principals were not necessary. A long correspondence followed between the two friends. Should they move to another location since there seemed no hope of getting a sufficient endowment in Ipswich? Were two principals necessary? Unfortunately we have only part of the letters. Mary Lyon seldom kept letters, but Zilpah Grant did, so we have Miss Lyon's letters but not Miss Grant's answers. It seems fair to believe that both were sincere; Mary Lyon in her desire to help the poorer girls of the western part of the state, Miss Grant in her belief that the upper class girls were most worth educating for teachers; Miss Lyon in her desire for an endowment free from control by in-

30 Gilchrist, *Life of Mary Lyon*, p. 160.

31 Hitchcock, *Life and Labors of Mary Lyon*, p. 158.



vestors, Miss Grant in the resignation of one convinced that this was not at present possible, and that they should make the best of what they could get; Mary Lyon in exuberant health, Zilpah Grant tired and frail. In February of 1832 the Mount Pleasant Collegiate Institute at Amherst was for sale, but the price asked was too high.

So things drifted along, until in December of 1832 Miss Lyon wrote, "Is it not your solemn duty and mine to review the question whether my services are needed as much in our beloved seminary as in some other part of the Lords vineyard?"<sup>32</sup>

In March of 1833 she wrote another touching letter. "One thing I have for several weeks wanted to propose to you. It is this: If Providence ever makes it plainly our duty to occupy different fields of labor, and to dissolve our legal connection, I should deem it one of the greatest earthly blessings which I could possibly enjoy to keep as many of the cords which now bind us together unbroken as could be done under existing circumstances: that we should assist each other in forming plans; that we should visit each other often; that we should each feel that, next to our own field of labor, that of the other is the most endearing, the field to which we have pledged our services, our influence, our hearts."<sup>33</sup>

In May Miss Lyon wrote "I am very glad, my dearest friend, that you propose to endeavor to learn that you can do without me."<sup>34</sup> How we wish we had Miss Grant's letter to which this was the reply!

Mary Lyon's point of view is clearly stated in a letter to her mother. "In one respect I have not felt quite satisfied with my present field of labor. I have desired to be in a school the expenses of which would be so small that many who are now discouraged from endeavoring to enjoy the privileges of this [school] might be favored with those which are similar at less expense."<sup>35</sup>

In October 1833 came the famous meeting in Miss Lyon's parlor in Ipswich where the "Circular for the

32 *Use of a Life*, p. 167.

33 Hitchcock, *Life and Labors of Mary Lyon*, p. 177.

34 *Ibid*, p. 182.

35 *Ibid*, p. 190.

New England Seminary for Teachers" was drafted. "General object: . . . To lead the way towards the establishment of permanent female seminaries in our land. . . . Those which have the most claim to such standing are so dependent on their present teachers, and their funds are to such an extent the property of private individuals that it would not be easy to predict even their existence in the next century."<sup>36</sup> So the scheme for Mount Holyoke Seminary, though without a definite location, was set on foot.

There followed one of the most remarkable periods in Miss Grant's career, for she joined heartily in the appeal to friends and patrons of Ipswich Academy for aid to the new undertaking. The first money came from pupils at Ipswich Academy, next from ladies in the vicinity. Waters, in his *History of Ipswich* says, "a person of less breadth and nobility of character than Zilpah Grant would naturally have resented the activities of her friend and co-worker in the interest of a rival institution which made it forever impossible that her own great plans could be revived and carried out, but she put aside her own feelings and seconded with all her might Miss Lyon's efforts in Ipswich and South Hadley to the end of her life. She interposed no bar to the solicitation of contributions in her own school and in the circle of her nearest and most devoted friends whom she had won to the support of her project; nor did she resent the transfer of their allegiance to a new leader."<sup>37</sup>

Her hopes for her own school were gone; her dear teacher, Joseph Emerson, was dead; her friend had left her for an undertaking of her own. To be sure, Mary Lyon offered her a position in the new Seminary, but Miss Grant refused. Four teachers and many pupils went from Ipswich to South Hadley with Miss Lyon. As Miss Grant's biographer said, "Overcome with weakness, it was to be her lot to see others carry out in lauded success the work she had inaugurated, the work she could do so

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, pp. 164, 167.

<sup>37</sup> Waters, *History of Ipswich*, pp. 357, 358.

well. She looked on with a thankful heart that the great cause was carried forward."<sup>38</sup>

She continued teaching until 1839 when ill-health caused her retirement. The catalogue of that year enumerated the pupils who had attended both at Derry and at Ipswich during the fifteen years she had taught. There was a total of 1,718 of whom 156 had completed the course. Of these, 21 had gone out as missionaries in the foreign field; 400 were teachers in New England and the Middle States; 38 were teachers in the west and south. Letters from some of these western home-missionaries are preserved in the Ipswich Historical Society.

Probably many of these pupils were aided either directly or indirectly by Miss Grant and Miss Lyon. In 1831 the catalogue spoke of an association the purpose of which was to assist young ladies in Ipswich Female Seminary to qualify themselves for "the business of education, and other benevolent labors in the cause of Christianity. No person could receive aid unless she had given evidence of piety for at least six months previous, had attained to eighteen years of age, had already acquired more than a common school education, and had been successfully engaged in teaching, nor unless she possessed promising talents." This same catalogue speaks of forty pupils who had been aided in the course of three years to the total amount of \$4294.00.

In 1835 the Society for the Education of Females in Ipswich Seminary was organized, really, so Miss Grant's biographer says, the first woman's board of home missions. The society existed for four years. During that time they made loans of \$4401.00 and forty one teachers were sent out. The stipulations were that a loan to one person should not be over \$200.00.

When Miss Grant retired in 1839 she was forty four years old, and an invalid. She had never had time for any attentions from gentlemen, and she may have thought she was now too old to expect them. But as witty Gail Hamilton said, "The moment she had time to look at a man, the man was there!" At the home of friends she

38 *Use of a Life*, p. 199.

met the Hon. William B. Banister, and in 1841 they were married. Her life with him was happy, with sufficient money so that she was able to do much for others. Sons of missionaries were educated; a poor woman was taken in for the winter; an invalid minister and his wife stayed at the Banisters for months. She could never resist putting her ideas into formal shape, and she drew up "Rules for a happy home," that would be well worth quoting were there space.

Her husband died in 1853, leaving her with some property which was managed for her by a business "friend." She was able to spend the year of 1860 in Europe, visiting educational institutions. But the so-called friend misused her funds, and she found she was almost destitute. The letter she wrote to the man is remarkable for its dignity, courtesy, and Christian forbearance:

"Dear Sir, Many thanks for your kind letter. May all your hopes for a favorable adjustment of your affairs be realized. I stand pledged to pay \$300.00 a year for the education of three half-orphan great-grand children of my parents. I expect to withdraw this from my principal and thus diminish it. Do you see any way in which this can be done? . . . You have been patient, kind, and faithful in advising me hitherto."<sup>39</sup>

His reply congratulated—"that she could bear her loss with resignations, having her treasure laid up in heaven."

That would seem a sufficient epitaph, but we might add to it a letter from Catherine Beecher, "She has been for years my chief resort for counsel and sympathy, and to me seems more like Jesus Christ than any earthly friend I ever knew. She has a strong, quiet, self-reliant common sense, a most elevated habit of communion with our Lord, and a most tender and comforting sympathy in everything that interests the thoughts and feelings of her friends, and she is so well balanced and so clear and discriminating in intellectual and moral perceptions that I always grew wiser by communicating with her."<sup>40</sup> That was written in 1860, fourteen years before Miss Grant's death in 1874.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, p. 344.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p. 294.



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# BILLS FOR RECEPTION OF HON. HENRY CLAY AT SALEM, 1833

Committee of Arrangements for the reception of Mr.  
Clay to Salem & Boston Stage Compy  
1833

Oct 26	To 2 Horses & Coach Danvers	\$2 00
29	4 H & Coach 1 Day	9 00
	5 Coach's 2 Horses each 1 Day	35 00
	4 Horses & Barouche 1 Days	30 00
	2 Horses & Coach 1 Evening	2 50
	3 Passages to Boston	3 00
30.	4 Horses & Coach 1 Day	9 00
		<u>\$90 50</u>

Rec payt the Company by. Robert Manning

Committee of Arrangements for the Reception of Hon  
Henry Clay

1833—	To Joseph S Leavitt Dr	
Oct 29	For 30 Dinners & Wine @ \$5	—\$150—
	Collation for Escort	—50—
	Use of House for Reception of Mr Clay—	50—
		<u>\$250</u>

Rec Pay— Joseph L Leavitt

Committee of Arrangements for }  
the reception of the Hon H Clay } to Wm Mansfield

1833 Oct 21	To Attendance at Town Hall	
	Candles &c	\$2.00
22	“ Notifying Com	25
	“ Attending 5 Meetings of Com at 50	2.50
26	“ Notifying Marshalls of Appointment	50
27	“ “ Meeting of Marshalls	50
“	“ Attending “ “	50
Nov 1	“ Collecting Marshals Battons	50
	Attending Meeting	50
		<u>7.25</u>
		for Grant
		<u>50</u>
		Salem Nov 4th 1833
		7-75

Rec Pay  
William Mansfield

—From the Collection of Mrs. Rebecca Kinsman Munroe  
(366)

# SALEM TOWN RECORDS

(Continued from Volume LXXXVI, page 198.)

taner Roberson	—	—	5.3
Sam Southerick	4	0.13	6.3
Sam Stacey	4	10	6.3
Jn° Stacey	4	10	6.3
James Symonds	8	1.01	12.6
St. Small	4	12	6.3
Mical Shaffin	6	—	9.4.6
Joseph Southerick	4	—	6.3
Josiah Southerick	10	—	15.1.6
dan Southerick	8	—	12.6
Jn° Small	8	—	12.6
Jos <sup>r</sup> Sibley	4	0.10	6.3
Sam Stone Son Jn°	6	0.5	
Tho Tyley	4	0.10	6.3
W <sup>m</sup> Trask	6	0.18	9.5
Jn° Trask S	8	1.01	9.5
Jn° Tomkins	6	0.14	9.4.6
Jn° Trask Jun <sup>r</sup>	6	0.5	9.4.6
Pet. Twist	—	—	5.3
Jn° Trask man	—	—	5.3
Sam Veary  s   farm	4	0.10	6.3
Tho Veary	4	0.15	6.3
Jn° Waters	6	16	9.4.6
[314] To Const <sup>b1</sup> Tho: Gould 1686			
dan Andrew	0.12	—	18.10
Jn° Addams	0.4	—	6.3
Sam Abbey	—	—	5.3
Jn° Buxtone	5	—	9.6
Edw Bishope	6	—	9.4.6
Tho: Barston	5	—	6.4
Tho Baley	4	—	6.3
Sam <sup>11</sup> Braybrook	—	—	5.3
B— Bridges	—	—	5.3
Jn° Beale	—	—	5.3
Geoyls Coary	5	0 10	5.3
Sam Cutler	4	—	7.3.6

Pet Cloyce	4	—	6.36
Ez: Cheuers	4	—	5.3
Sam Cutler Jun <sup>r</sup>	4	—	6.3
W <sup>m</sup> Chub	—	—	5.3
Dan <sup>11</sup> Canady	—	—	5.3
Jn <sup>o</sup> durland	4	—	6.3
St. fish	4	0.10	5.3
Tho flint S	8	—	13.7
Geo. flint X	—	—	0
Jn <sup>o</sup> flint	4	—	6.3
Jos flint	4	—	6.3
Tho fuller J	6	—	9.4.6
Benj <sup>r</sup> fuller	5	—	7.6.4
Jacob fuller	4	—	7.6.4.0
Nat felton J	4.	0.10	7.6.4
Jn <sup>o</sup> felton	6	0.14	9.5
Sam frayle	4.	0.7	6.3
Sam fuller	4	—	7.6.3
Tho Gould	10	1.0	15.7.6
Zach Goodale	6	0.0	9.5
Jn <sup>o</sup> Gingil	4	0	7.6.4
Jos: Gould	—	—	5.3
[315]			
——— Harwod	4	0.7	6.3
Jos <sup>r</sup> Holton S	5	—	12.4.6
Jos Holton J	4	—	7.6.3
Ja Hadlock S.	3	—	5.46
Ja. Hadlock J	4	—	5.3
Tho. Haynes	6	—	10.5
Jos: Herrick	8	—	12.6
Benj <sup>r</sup> Holton	4	—	6.3
Jos <sup>r</sup> Hutchison	10	—	16.10
Nat Ingersol	8	—	14.6
W <sup>m</sup> Ireland X			
Geo Jacobs Jun <sup>r</sup>	2	—	5.2
——— Johnson	—	—	5.3
Hugh Joans	6	15	9.4
W <sup>m</sup> Linckhorne X			
Henry Keany	6	—	9
Tho. Keany	6	—	9



Rob Moulton	6	0.12	9.5
Jn° Moulton	4	0.10	5.3
Zach Marsh	5	0 12	8.4
Anth Neadham	4	—	8.6
fra Nurse S	6	—	9.4
Jn° Nurse	4	0 10	6.63.60
Jn° Procter	12	1.6	18.9
Nat Putnam	18	—	27.14
Tho Putnam S.	1.0	—	30.16
Jn° Putnam S	0.18	—	26.14
Jos Pope	0.8	—	14.7
Benj Pope	0.6	—	9.46

[316]

Tho Putnam J	6	—	9.5
Jos Porter	14	—	18.10
Peter Prescot	4	—	6.3.6
Jn° Pudney	5	10	9.5
Tho Preston	4	—	8.3.6
Jn <sup>th</sup> Putnam	8	—	12.6.6
Jn° Putnam J	6	—	10.5
Edw Putnam	6	—	10.5
James Putnam	—		6.3
Benj Putnam	—		5.3
Joshua Rea	14		18.11
Dan <sup>11</sup> Rea	10		15.8
Tho Raymont	8		12.6
Josh Rea Jun <sup>r</sup>	—		8.5
W <sup>m</sup> Shelding	6	—	8.4
W <sup>m</sup> Shaw	6	12	9.4.6
W <sup>m</sup> Sibly	7	—	11.5.6
Job Swinerton	10	—	16.8
James Smith	4	—	6.3
Sam Sibly	4	—	6.3
Jn° Shepard	4	—	6.3
Rich Tree	4	08	5.3
Jn° Tarbol	4	—	8.3.6
Jn <sup>th</sup> Walcot	6	—	12.5.6
Abr Walcot	0	—	5.2
Jer Watts	4	—	6.3.6
Bray Wilkins	0	—	6.4

Sam Wilkins	4	—	6.3
Tho Wilkins	5	—	9.5
Hen Wilkins	0	—	5.3
Benj Wilkins	4	—	6.3
Aron Way	4	—	6.3
W <sup>m</sup> Way	4	—	6.3.6
Edw Whitinton			

[317] Constable Jn<sup>o</sup> Chaplen 1686

Jon <sup>a</sup> Augar	00.12.00
Jacob Alen	00.13.00
W <sup>m</sup> Andrews	00.15.00
Ralph Ayres	00.00.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> Brown	00.10.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> Beckett	00.10.00
Rob Bray Sene <sup>r</sup>	00.10.00
C <sup>r</sup> Babedg	00.16.00
Nicks Bartlet	00.10.00
W <sup>m</sup> Babb	00.10.00
Th <sup>o</sup> Babb	00.10.00
Rob Bray Jun <sup>r</sup>	00.12.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> Bacye	00.09.00
Rob Bartell	00.12.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> Baits	00.08.00
W <sup>m</sup> Beckit	00.15.00
Richard Bale	00.10.00
Tho Beadle	00.10.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> Barat	00.00.00
Mat Barton	00.10.00
Richard Brodeway	00.08.00
ffra <sup>c</sup> Colins	00.15.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> Clefford	00.16.00
Nickle Coones	00.16.00
Nicks Chadwell	00.15.00
Josh Cunant	00.12.00

## [318] The ministers rate for the yeare 1686

Peter Colyer	00.10.00
James Cocks	00.10.00
Jn <sup>c</sup> Culleuer	00.10.00
Venes Colefox	00.08.00
Daniell Cubard	00.10.00

W <sup>m</sup> Cash	00.10.00
Phill Cox	00.10.00
W <sup>m</sup> Cox Jun <sup>r</sup>	00.08.00
Jn <sup>c</sup> Donster	00.10.00
Mat Dow	00.06.00
Steph Daniell	00.16.00
Phill English	00.16.00
Ole Elkins	00.10.00
Tho Elkins	00.10.00
Hez Dutch	00.11.00
Dan <sup>11</sup> Dow	00.10.00
Philip Dore	00.11.00
Isack ffoot	00.17.00
Rob ffolit	00.16.00
Rich fflinder	00.16.00
James ffrood	00.12.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> ffrood	00.10.00
Ew <sup>d</sup> ffacey	00.10.00
Randall ffason: w <sup>th</sup> Ed. Hlird	00:10:00
Cam <sup>11</sup> Gardner Jun <sup>r</sup> `	02.12.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> Grafton	01.04.00
Bartl Gale	00.10.00
Josh <sup>u</sup> Grafton	00.15.00
Benj <sup>a</sup> Geresh	00.18.00
Tho Ginkens fisherman	00.10.00

## [319]

Joseph Hardy Juner	01.01.00
Geo Hogis	00.16.00
Edw <sup>d</sup> Hilyard	00.16.00
Rich Harris	00.16.00
W <sup>m</sup> Henfield	00.15.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> Harbert	00.10.00
W <sup>m</sup> Hascoll	00.10.00
Is Hunewell	00.10.00
Abell Hill	00.10.00
Ph Hirst	00.10.00
Elen Hollingworth	00.15.00
Tho Jeggls Sen <sup>r</sup>	00.09.00
Tho Jeggls Juner	00.12.00
W <sup>m</sup> Jeggls	00.10.00

Daniell Jeggls	00.10.00
Jn° Jermon	00.12.00
Charls Knigts	00.00.00
Geo Lane	00.06.00
Jn° Legro	00.06.00
Josh Lyon	00.10.00
Jn° Langford	00.10.00
Jn° Longly	00.10.00
Elisha Lenell	00.10.00

## [320]

Jn° Marcy	00.13.00
ffra More	00.12.00
Benj <sup>a</sup> Mesery	00.10.00
Jn° Masters	00.12.00
He[n]ry Moses	00.00.00
Peter Miler	00.10.00
Jn° Mascoll	00.06.00
Jn° More	00.10.00
Mart Meshery	00.10.00
Jn° Meshery	00.10.00
W <sup>m</sup> Melican	00.10.00
Ja Mould	00.10.00
W <sup>m</sup> Murray	00.10.00
Jos Meshery	00.10.00
Tho: Mascoll	00.12.00
Jer. Neale	00.18.00
Jn° Ormes Seny <sup>r</sup>	00.18.00
Jn° Ormes Jun <sup>r</sup>	00.10.00
Jos Phipen Seny <sup>r</sup>	00.13.00
Gill Peeters	00.10.00
W <sup>m</sup> Punshard	00.10.00
Pett Ponnden w <sup>th</sup> Sam: gale	00.10.00
Sam <sup>n</sup> Pike	00.12.00
Walt Palfree	00.10.00

## [321]

Charls Redford	03.00.00
Tho Rumrey	00.10.00
Tho Shepard	00.10.00
Henry Skery Juner	01.00.00
ffra Skerys widow	00.18.00



Jos Swasey seny <sup>r</sup>	00.12.00
Jos Striker	00.10.00
Rich Star	00.10.00
Edw <sup>d</sup> Severet	00.10.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> Shepard	00.10.00
Gil Taply	01.05.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> Taply	00.06.00
Lenard Toser	00.10.00
Ez Waters	00.18.00
Is Woodbery	01.00.00
Watt Whitford	00.12.00
Th <sup>o</sup> Watkins	00.10.00
Daniell Webb	00.00.00
Ja Wilkins	00.10.00
Zack White	00.12.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> Walker	00.10.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> Whitford	00.10.00

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proved 77.05.00

By Vertue of an order of the president & Councell of his majesties teritory & domain—of New England for the raising & defraying of all publike charge in Townes as shall be needfull, the Selectmen of the Towne of Salem have made this Bill of asesments determining the severall proportions of all Said Inhabitants as live within the ward or Charge of Constable Jn<sup>o</sup> Chaplin for the payment of the Townes Ingagments to ther ministers to be paid within the yeare accompting from the first of Apreill last past & to be paid in unto M<sup>r</sup> Benj<sup>a</sup> Gerish as Deacon thirty five pounds thereof by the first of October next & Seaventen pounds ten shillings thereof at or before the first of January next & the remainder being Seaventen pounds ten shill<sup>ings</sup> at or before the first of Apreill next insuing the date hereof, & the said Deacon to pay it in to the ministers according to ther proportions

16 Jne 86:<sup>1</sup>

to pay $\frac{1}{2}$ by 1: october	32.00.00
to pay $\frac{1}{4}$ by 1 Janeurry Is	16.00.00
to pay $\frac{1}{4}$ by first apell next	16.00.00

<sup>1</sup> Pages 322-331 missing.

to the ourplush w <sup>ch</sup> Is	}	3.12.00
to the Select men		

---

 67.12.00

[332] Constable Henry Keny

Jn <sup>o</sup> Addams	00.10.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> Crosbey	00.06.00
Sam <sup>l</sup> Cutler	00.12.00
Giels Cory	00.10.00
Sam <sup>l</sup> Cutler Jun <sup>r</sup>	00.08.00
Stephen ffisk	00.00.00
Nath ffelton Jun <sup>r</sup>	00.10.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> ffelton	00.14.00
Sam <sup>l</sup> fraile	00.07.00
Jos fflint	00.08.00
Tho Gould	01.00.00
Jos Gould	00.08.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> Harwood	00.07.00
Hugh Joans	00.15.00
Rob Molton	00.12.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> Moulton	00.10.00
Zack Marsh	00.12.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> Nurs	00.10.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> Procktor	01.06.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> Pudny Sen <sup>r</sup>	00.12.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> Pudny Jun <sup>r</sup>	00.08.00
W <sup>m</sup> Shaw	00.12.00

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 11.17.00

[333] To Constable John Felton

Jos <sup>e</sup> Boyce	0.10.00
Th <sup>o</sup> Banneton	0.10.0
Jn <sup>o</sup> Burton	0.12.0
Jacob Barny	0.12.0
Th <sup>o</sup> Bell	0.10.0
Cornlis Baker	0.05.0
Nat Carell	0.05.0
Jn <sup>o</sup> Cresey	0.02.0
Is Cook	0.18.0
Rich Condick	0.10.0

Sam <sup>11</sup> Carrell	0.06.0
Rob Coburne	0.05.0
Nico. Durel	0.08.0
Mical Derick	0.10.0
P <sup>n</sup> Deland }	
and y <sup>o</sup> mill }	0.08.0
Sam Eborne: S	0.14.0
Sam Eborne Jun <sup>r</sup>	0.10.0
Sam <sup>11</sup> Endicut }	
and farme }	1.00.00
Jn <sup>o</sup> forster Jun <sup>r</sup>	0.14.0
Sam <sup>11</sup> forster	0.10.0
Leuit. felton	0.18.0
Rob fuler	0.12.0
Ele Geoyls	0.18.0
Sam Goldthite	0.12.0
Jn <sup>o</sup> Green	0.08.0
Rob Greeno }	
and farme }	1.04.0
Sam <sup>11</sup> Gaskin Jun <sup>r</sup>	0.06.0
W <sup>m</sup> Goodin	0.06.0

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 15.03.0

[334]

Nath Haward	0.9.0
Georg Harvey	0.4.0
James Holton	0.10.0
Geo Jacobs Sen <sup>r</sup>	0.14.0
Jn <sup>o</sup> King	0.16.0
Geo. Lockiar	0.12.0
Jn <sup>o</sup> Loomes	0.12.0
Jn <sup>o</sup> Leach	0.18.0
Cap Leach	0.12.0
Ph Lojiar	0.12.0
Sam <sup>11</sup> Marsh	0.10.0
Calom Mecalom	0.10.0
W <sup>m</sup> osburne	0.10.0
Israel Porter	2.05.0
Benj. Porter	0.15.0
Hugh Pasko	0.10.0

Rob Pease	0.04.0
Isaac Read	0.10.0
Sam <sup>l</sup> Southerick	0.10.0
Sam <sup>l</sup> Stacy	0.10.0
Jn <sup>o</sup> Stacy	0.10.0
James Symonds	1.01.0
Stephen Small	0.12.0
Jos <sup>s</sup> Sibly	0.10.0
Tho Tyley	0.10.0
W <sup>m</sup> Trask	0.18.0
Jn <sup>o</sup> Trask Sn <sup>r</sup>	0.18.0
Jn <sup>o</sup> Tomkins	0.14.0
Jn <sup>o</sup> Trask Jun <sup>r</sup>	0.08.0
Peeter Twist	0.06.0
Hen Thrasher	0.08.0
Jn <sup>o</sup> Weebb	00.12.00
Sam <sup>l</sup> Vearys farm	0.10.0
Tho Very	0.10.0
Jn <sup>o</sup> Waters	0.16.0

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 21.4.00

 15.3.0
 

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36:7:00

Memorandum in 1688 p<sup>d</sup> as ffollows in Mony7:5:6 p<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Epps2:2:0 p<sup>d</sup> for Bull

4:10:0 Mrs Gedny

6:0 M<sup>rs</sup> Gedny

Lads for Attendance

3:10:0 M<sup>r</sup> Epps

bull 3.12

1:10:0 Bull

Gedny 5.16

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 19:3:6

9.8

1:0:0 M<sup>rs</sup> Gedny

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 10.15.6

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 20:3:6

[335] To the Seleckt Men & Constables of Salem  
 His Excellency the Govern<sup>r</sup> & Council having by their  
 order of the 12<sup>th</sup> of this Instant January Direckted the  
 Tressurer to Issue for his Warrents, pursuant to an order



of Councell of the 4<sup>th</sup> of the above s<sup>d</sup> January for a Single Cuntry Rate of One penny in the pound to his Majestie for Support of the Government to be Assessed Leanyed & Collected According to fformer Usage

You are therefore Required In his Majesty's Name to Asses and Leavy upon the Severall Inhabetants of your Town, equally and proportionaly to their Seaverall Rates and According to former Usage & Custome, for the Raysing and Leavrying Publick Charges the Just Summ of One Penny in the pound making a particular Accompt and List thereof Under the Seaverall hands of you the Select Men Certifying the Sum Total into the Tressurer and the Said List deliver unto the Constables of your Town Who are alike Required to Leavy & Colleckt the Same fforthwith makeing distress where Neede Shall be (According to fformer manner) takeing the Seaverall Sorts of Grayne at Such prisses as ware Latly Sett forth by the president and Councill Viz: Wheat at 5<sup>s</sup> Rie and Pease at 4<sup>s</sup> Indian Corne at 2<sup>s</sup>9<sup>d</sup> and Oates at 2<sup>s</sup> ¾ Bpshel: and In case any pay Mony in Liew of Country pay they are to be abated one third: of all w<sup>th</sup> the Constables are Required to make good Accompt and Speedy payment to the Tresurer or his ord<sup>r</sup> See that all the Sorts of Grain be Merchantable, and that you Receive noe Leave Cattle nor Horses Hear of Fayle not, as you Will Answer the Contrary at your perrill.

Dated in Boston the 20<sup>th</sup> day of January Anno Domini 1686/7 In y<sup>e</sup> Second Yeare of his Majesty's Reigne

Vera Copia

John Usher Tressurer

[336]

Jon <sup>a</sup> Augur	00:02:00	ffrancis Collins	00:02:03
Jacob Allen	00:02:06	John Clyford	00:03:00
W <sup>m</sup> Andrews	00:02:03	Michale Coombs	00:03:00
Ralph Ayres	00:01:09	Nich <sup>o</sup> Chattwell	00:02:06
John Brown	00:03:00	Joshua Connant	00:01:09
John Beckett	00:02:00	Peter Collier	00:01:09
Rob <sup>t</sup> Bray Sen <sup>r</sup>	00:01:09	James Cocks	00:01:09
Christo Babbadge	00:02:09	John Culliner	00:02:00
Nicholas Bartlett	00:01:09	Phineas Colefox	00:01:09
W <sup>m</sup> Babb	00:01:09	Daniell Cubbard	00:01:09

Thomas Babb	00:01:09	W <sup>m</sup> Cash	00:01:09
Rob <sup>t</sup> Bray Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:02:00	Philiph Cox	00:01:09
John Bacy	00:01:09	W <sup>m</sup> Cox Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:01:09
Rob <sup>t</sup> Bartoll	00:02:00	Hesekiah Dutch	00:02:00
W <sup>m</sup> Beckett	00:02:06	John Dowster	00:01:09
Rich Ball	00:01:09	Mathew Dow	00:01: 9
Thomas Beedle	00:01:09	Stephen Daniell	
John Barrett	00:00:00	Estate	00:02: 9
Mathew Barton	00:02:06	Daniell Dow	00:01: 9
Richard Broadaway			
	00:01:06		3 :15: 9
	01:19:00		
Brought over	03:15:09		
Philliph English	00:05:00	Jo <sup>s</sup> Hardy Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:03:00
Oliver Ellkins	00:01:06	Geo Hodges	00:02:03
Thomas Ellkins	00:01:06	Edward Hilliard	00:02:03
Hazekiah Dutch	00:00:00	Richard Harris	00:02:03
Daniel Dow	00:00:00	W <sup>m</sup> Henfiell	00:01:09
Philliph Doree	00:00:06	John Harbert	00:01:09
Isaak Foote	00:02:06	W <sup>m</sup> Hascoll	00:01:09
Rob <sup>t</sup> Follett	00:02:03	Jsrael Honnawill	00:01:09
Rich Flinder	00:02:09	Able Hill	00:01:09
James Froode	00:01:09	Philliph Hirst	00:01:09
John Froode	00:00:00	Ellinor Hollingsworth	
Edward Fecy	00:01:09		00:01:09
— Randoll	00:02:00		
James flinder	00:01:09	Sum Carried Over	
Samuell Gardner Jun <sup>r</sup>			07:04:00
	00:09:00		
Jn <sup>o</sup> Graffton	00:03:06		
Joshua Graffton	00:02:06		
Benj <sup>a</sup> Gerish	00:03:06		
Thomas Genckins	00:01:09		
Barthollmew Gale	00:01:09		
	06:02:00		

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Sume Brought		Charles Knights	00:00:00
over being	07:04:00	John Lane	00:01:09

Thomas Jeggles Sen <sup>r</sup>	00:01:09	John Lagrone	00:00:00
Thomas Jeggles Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:02:00	Joshua Lyon	00:01:09
W <sup>m</sup> Jeggles	00:01:09	John Laniford	00:01:09
Daniell Jeggles	00:02:00	John Langly	00:01:09
John Jerman	00:02:00	Elisha Lenell	00:01:09
<hr/>			
	07:13:06		
John Marcy	00:02:06	Sum Brought Over	
ffrancis Moore	00:02:00		09:06:06
Benj <sup>a</sup> Messury	00:01:09	Jere: Neele	00:03:00
John Masters	00:02:00	John Ormes Sen <sup>r</sup>	00:03:00
Henry Moyses Widdow	00:00:00	John Ormes Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:02:00
Peter Miller	00:01:09	Joseph Phippen	
John Mascall	00:01:09	Sen <sup>r</sup>	00:02: 0
John Mare	00:00:00	Gilbert Peters	00:01: 9
Martin Messury	00:01:09	W <sup>m</sup> Punshard	00:01: 9
John Messury	00:01:09	Peter Pounden	00:01: 9
W <sup>m</sup> Melligan	00:01:09	Walter Palfry	00:01: 9
James Mould	00:01:09	M <sup>r</sup> Charles Redford	
W <sup>m</sup> Murray	00:01: 9		00:10:00
Jo <sup>s</sup> Messury	00:01: 9	Thomas Rumry	00:01:09
Thomas Maskoll	00:02: 0	Thomas Sheppard	00:00:00
		Henry Skerry Jun <sup>r</sup>	
			00:03:00
Sum Carried over	09:06:06	Widdow of Francis	
Added to this List*		Skerry	00:03:00
Jos Grafton	00:03: 0	Jo <sup>s</sup> Swasy Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:01:09
Bryant Odortiy	00:01: 9	Jo <sup>s</sup> Stricker	00:01: 9
John Gattingsby	00:01: 9	Richard Starr	00:01: 9
John Stephens	0::01: 9	Edward Severett	00:00:00
Gameliell Hawkins	00:01: 9	John Shepperd	00:01: 9
			<hr/>
Sam: Gale	00:02: 0		11:08:03
Sam Ellson	00:02: 3	John Taply	00:01:09
John Smith Allen		Gilbert Taply	00:03:09
Mate	00:02: 0	Leonard Towsser	00:01:09
John Lambert Jun <sup>r</sup>	:02: 0	Ezekiell Waters	00:03:09
ffra Neele Sen <sup>r</sup>	00:01: 9	Isaack Woodbury	00:02:00

\*On a paper tied in.

ffra Neele Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:01: 9	Walter Whitford	00:01:09
Sam: Neele	00:01: 9	John Webb	00:01:09
		James Wilkins	00:01:09
	01:03:06	Zachariah White	00:02:00
Brought from y <sup>e</sup> hist		John Walker	00:01:09
	12:12:06	John Whiteford	00:01:09
			12:12:06
		to pay the Tressurer	11:6:0
		to pay the Town	2:10:0
			13:16:0

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To John Maskoll	Constable	Brought Over	04:08:00
Samuel Archer	00:02:00	Robert Glanfiell	00:03:00
John Archer	00:02:00	Jo <sup>s</sup> Gray	00:01:09
Thomas Arthur	00:01:09	John Greenslitt	00:01:09
Benj <sup>a</sup> Allin	00:03:09	John Glover Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:01:09
Majo <sup>r</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Brown		James Hardy	00:02:03
Esq <sup>r</sup>	01:00:00	Joseph Hardy Sen <sup>r</sup>	
Edward Bush	00:02:00		00:03:00
Nathaniell Beedle	00:02:00	W <sup>m</sup> Glover	00:01:09
John Backstar	00:00:00	Rob <sup>t</sup> Gray	00:02:00
John Bennett	00:02:00	Cap <sup>t</sup> Higginson	00:06:00
John Bullock	00:03:00	Stephen Haskett	00:04:00
John Baker	00:01:09	John Ingarsoll	00:02:06
Thomas Beedle	00:03: 0	Samuel Ingarsoll	00:02:06
Peter Cheevers	00:02:06	Thomas Ives	00:04:00
John Crumwell	00:05:00	John Johnson	00:01:09
Humphry Coombs	00:01:09	Benj <sup>a</sup> Hooper	00:01:09
William Curtice		George Keyser	00:03:00
Sen <sup>r</sup>	00:03: 0	Elizur Keyzer	00:02:06
Miles Chapleman	00:02: 0	John Lander	00:02:03
George Cook	00:02: 0	Tynmothy Laskin	00:02:00
W <sup>m</sup> Curtice Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:01: 9	Richard Moore	
James Cox	00:01:09	Sen <sup>r</sup>	00:00:00
Thomas Cloutman	00:01:09	Richard Moore	
Allen Chard	00:01:09	Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:02:03
James Collins		Paule Mansfiell	00:02:00
Widdow	00:01:09	John Mansfiell	00:01:09



		Elias Mason	00:00: 0
	03:08:09	Thomas Mould	00:02: 3
Samuell Dutch	00:02:00	Jacob Manning	00:01: 9
W <sup>m</sup> Driver	00:02:03	Benj <sup>a</sup> Marsh	00:01: 9
W <sup>m</sup> Denn	00:02:03	Jos Messury	00:01: 9
Maj <sup>r</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Dyer	00:00:00		
Peter Henderson	00:01:09		07:11: 0
John Edwards	00:00:00	Richard Prince	00:02:03
Samuell Gardner		Samuell Prince	00:02:03
Sen <sup>r</sup>	00:06:00	Jonathan Prince	00:00:00
Thomas Gardner	00:05:00	James Poland	00:03:00
		Benj <sup>a</sup> Putman	00:02:06
	4:08:00		
		Carried Over	08:01: 00

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Brought Over	08:01:00	Sum Brought	
Christopher Phelps	00:02:00	Over	11:05:09
Jo <sup>s</sup> Phippen Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:02:00	Added to y <sup>e</sup> List	
Samuell Phippen	00:02:03	John Best	00:02:00
Jo <sup>s</sup> Phippen y <sup>e</sup>		Benj <sup>a</sup> Stone	00:01:09
Shoreman	00:02:00	Joseph Grimes	
Samuell		Seaman	00:01:09
Robbinson	00:02:03	John Searle	00:02:00
John Rogers	00:03: 0	John Hinderson	
John Robbinson	00:02: 3	Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:01:09
John Sanders & Sons	00:04:03	Edward Wolland	
Sam Stone	00:02:06	Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:01:09
Benj <sup>a</sup> Small	00:02:00	Richard Peters	00:01:09
Nath <sup>a</sup> Silsby	00:02:03	Philliph Babbson	00:01:09
Walter Skinner	00:01:09	Thorne y <sup>t</sup> Liues	00:01:09
John Swinerton,		in Cap <sup>t</sup> Jn <sup>o</sup> Cor-	
Dockter	00:00:00	rins house Came	
Rob <sup>t</sup> Stone Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:02:09	from Virginia	
2 heads Rob <sup>t</sup> Stone			
Sen <sup>r</sup>	00:05:00	To pay the	12:02:00
		Tressurer	10:07: 0

John Sanders Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:01:09	To pay the Select	} 1:15: 0
		Men for the	
		Towns Use	
	09:19:00		
John Verry	00:00:00		12:02: 0
Sam Verry	00:02:00		
John Williams	00:03:06		
Sam Williams	00:03:06		
Adam Westgate	00:00:00		
John Westgate	00:02:03		
Thomas Westgate	00:02:03		
John Wilkinson	00:01:09		
Hugh Wilcock	00:01:09		
Simon Willerd	00:02:03		
Isa Williams Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:01:09		
John Williams			
Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:01:09		
John Warrin	00:01: 9		
Samuel Williams			
Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:02: 3		
Carried over	11:05:09		
[340]			
To M <sup>r</sup> Daniell Lambert		Brought Oover	02:12:06
John Andrew		John Hathorne	
Glasier	00:00:00	Esq <sup>r</sup>	00:08:00
John Andrew		W <sup>m</sup> Hirst	00:08:00
Carpenter	00:02:03	John Holmes	00:03:00
John Allford	00:01:09	Jo <sup>s</sup> Holmes	00:02:00
Benj <sup>a</sup> Ashby	00:01:09	John Harny	00:01:09
George Adams	00:02:06	Lewis Hunt	00:02:06
Henry		Peter Harvy	00:01:09
Barthollmew	00:02:03	John Hill	00:01:09
W <sup>m</sup> Beanes	00:02:00	George Herrick	00:03:00
Daniell Bacon	00:02:06	John Hinckson	00:01:09
John Blayno	00:02:00	John Horne	00:02:03
Henry Bragg	00:01:09	Ephraim	
Philliph		Kempton	00:01: 9
Crumwell	00:06:00	Tymothy Lindall	00:06: 0
John Cooke	00:02:00	John Lambert	

Alexander Cole	00:03:00	Sen <sup>r</sup>	00:02: 3
Richard Comer	00:01:09	Daniell Lambert	00:02: 3
John Croade	00:02:03	W <sup>m</sup> Lord	00:03: 0
George Darland		Jo <sup>s</sup> Lord	00:01: 9
& Son	00:02:06	John Lapthorne	00:01 9
James Dennis &		Ezekiell Lambert	00:02: 3
peach	00:00:00	Samuell Lambert	00:01:09
Francis Elliott	00:01:09	Edward Mould	00:00:00
Thomas Elliott	00:02:03	John Marston	00:04:00
Thomas Flint	00:04:00	Manasses Marston	00:04:00
Edmund		Benj <sup>a</sup> Marston	00:04:06
Feueryear	00:03:00	John Mauson	00:01:09
Thomas Field	00:01:09	Thomas Mitchaell	00:02:00
Maj <sup>r</sup> Bart. Gedny		John	
Esq <sup>r</sup>		Mackamallin	00:01:09
Benj <sup>a</sup> Ganson	00:01:09	Thomas Maull	00:08:00
Samuell Gray	00:01:09	Rob <sup>t</sup> Nowell	00:02:03
		John Norman	00:04:00
Caried Over	02:12:06	Jon <sup>a</sup> Neele	00:03:00
			<hr/> 07:06:03

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Brought from y <sup>e</sup> other Side		c s d
	07:06:03	Brought Over 10:10:00
Richard Prythrich		Isaack Whittaker 00:01:09
	00:02:06	John Ward 00:02:06
John Pickrin Jun <sup>r</sup>		Benj <sup>a</sup> Woodrow 00:00:00
	00:02:06	Joseph Neele 00:03:00
John Pickrin Sen <sup>r</sup>	00:05:06	Jonathan Flint 00:01:09
Jonahtan Pickrin	00:02:03	Thomas Cotes Carpenter
David Phippen	00:03:00	00:01:09
Richard Palmer	00:01:09	Sam Eborne the 3 <sup>d</sup>
Dockter Packer	00:00:00	00:01:09
Samuell Pickman	00:01:09	Zebulon Hill Jun <sup>r</sup> 00:03:00
Thomas Ruck	00:02:06	
John Ruck	00:05:06	<hr/> 11:05:06
W <sup>m</sup> Reeves	00:01:09	To pay Unto the Tressurer
Jere: Rogers	00:03:00	09:10:6

John Richards	00:00:00	to pay the Select	} 01:15:0
Anthony Randall		Men for the	
Dockter	00:00:00	Towns Use	
Samuell			
Shattock Sen <sup>r</sup>	00:05:00		11:05:6
Thomas Stacy	00:03:00		
W <sup>m</sup> Stacy	00:02:00		
John Southerick	00:02:03		
Isaack Sternes	00:03:00		
John Tawly	00:05:00		
Joraell Thorne	00:00:00		
Thomas Vely	00:02:06		
John Voden	00:01:09		
Nehemiah			
Willoughby	00:03:00		
Mathew Woodall	00:02:06		
Jo <sup>s</sup> White	00:01:09		

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10:10:00
[342] To M<sup>r</sup> Deliverance Parkman

John Attwater	00:00:00	Edward Flint	00:04:06
John Allen	00:02:03	John Flint	00:01:09
M <sup>r</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Brown Sen <sup>r</sup>		John Gedny Sen <sup>r</sup>	00:05:00
	02:10:00	John Glover Sen <sup>r</sup>	00:01:09
M <sup>rs</sup> Batter Widdow		W <sup>m</sup> Gill	00:01:09
	00:03:00	Jo <sup>s</sup> Glover	00:02: 3
Samuell Beedle	00:03:00	W <sup>m</sup> Godfry	00:01: 9
Edward Bisshop	00:02:03		
John Barton Chyrurg:*			06:05: 6
	00:00:00	Sum Brought Over	
Simon, M <sup>r</sup> Brown's Man			06:05:06
	00:01:09	William Godfrie	
Joshua Buffom	00:03:00	Jo <sup>s</sup> Glover	
Caleb Buffom	00:03:00	Peter Joye	00:01:09
Richard Croade Sen <sup>r</sup>		Stephen Ingolls	00:01:09
	00:02:03	Da <sup>11</sup> King Sen <sup>r</sup>	00:03:06
Abraham Cole	00:02:06	Robert Kitching	00:04:06
M <sup>r</sup> Jonathan Corwin		Daniell King Jun <sup>r</sup>	
	00:08:00		00:02:06
John Chaplin	00:01:09	Thomas Leurs	00:00:00

\*A Surgeon



Daniell Keyton	00:01:09	John Maccarter	00:03:00
William Cann	00:00:00	John Mascoll Jun <sup>r</sup>	
Maddam Corwin	00:03:06		00:02:03
George Deane	00:03:00	Jeremiah Meecham Sen <sup>r</sup>	
John Deale	00:01:09		00:00:00
W <sup>m</sup> Downten	00:02:03	John Mackmallion	
John Dotteredge	00:00:00		00:02:03
Edward Dollbeere	00:02:03	Thomas Mason	00:01:09
Anthony Dyke	00:01:09	James Mountford	00:01:09
Roger Darby	00:06:00	Edward Norrice	00:03:00
Thomas Deane	00:01:09	Cap <sup>t</sup> John Price	00:08:00
		Deliverance Parkman	
			00:04:06
		John Pumry	00:02:06
		Enos Poope	00:02:03
		W <sup>m</sup> Pinson	00:03:00
		John Parker	00:01:09
		John Priest	00:02:03
		Nicho Perly	00:00:00
		Christopher Phelps	
			00:00:00
		Samuell Poope	00:02:03
		Sum Carried Over	09:00:00
		[343]	
Sum Brought	9:00:00	Robert Willson	00:01:09
James Rix	00:01:09	Issack William Sen <sup>r</sup>	
John Ropes	00:02:03		00:02:06
W <sup>m</sup> Ropes	00:02:03	Henry West	00:03:06
Zehossephatt Rogers		Samhell Woodale	00:03:00
	00:01:09	Josiah Woolcott	00:04:00
Joseph Swasy Jun <sup>r</sup>			
	00:00:00		11:03:09
W <sup>m</sup> Stephens	00:03:00	Simon Horne	00:02:06
John Simson	00:02:06	Benj <sup>a</sup> Horne	00:02:00
Nathaniell Sharpe		Joseph Horne	00:03:00
	00:01:09	John Henderson	00:02:03
Stephen Sewall	00:04:06	W <sup>m</sup> Hobbs	00:01:09
W <sup>m</sup> Swettland	00:00:00	George Hacker	00:02:03
George Smith	00:01:09		
Samuell Sattock Jun <sup>r</sup>			11:17:06

	00:03:—	To pay the Tressurer	
M <sup>r</sup> Smith Taylor	00:02: 3	e	
W <sup>m</sup> Tily	00:02: 3		10: 2: 6
		To pay to the	
		Select Men for y <sup>e</sup>	
		Use of the Town	01:15: 0
		if Can be gath- ered	
			<hr/> 11:17: 6

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To John Waters Constable		Natha <sup>r</sup> Howard	00:04:06
Joseph Boyce Jun <sup>r</sup>		George Harvy	00:02:00
	00:01:09	James Houlton	00:02:00
Thomas Buffinton	00:01:09		<hr/> 04:01:06
John Burton	00:02:03		
Jarob Barny	00:03:00	Brought Over	04:01:06
Thomas Bell	00:01:09	Geo: Jacobs Sen <sup>r</sup>	00:03:00
John Bleuin	00:02:06	John King	00:02:06
Cor: Baker	00:02:03	George Lockyer	00:02: 6
Nathaniell Carrell		John Loomes	00:00:00
	00:01:09	John Leech	00:04:06
John Cresdy	00:02:06	Cap <sup>t</sup> Leech	00:03:06
Isaack Cooke	00:03:06	Philliph Losier	00:02:06
Richard Cowdick	00:01:09	Samuell Marsh	00:02:03
Samuell Carrell	00:01:09	Callam Mackallam	
Robert Coburne	00:02:03		00:01:09
Nicholas Durell	00:00:00	W <sup>m</sup> Osborne	00:02: 6
Ould Goodman Dealand		Israell Porter	00:08:00
	00:02:03	Benj <sup>a</sup> Porter	00:03:00
Samuell Eborne Sen <sup>r</sup>		Hugh Pasco	00:02:00
	00:02:06	Rob <sup>t</sup> Pease	00:01:09
Samuel Eborne Jun <sup>r</sup>		John Pudny Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:01:09
	00:02:00	Walter Phillips	00:03:00
Sam <sup>r</sup> : Endicott & ffarme		Walter Phillips Son	
	00:05:00		00:01:09
John Foster Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:02:03	Nicholas Rich	00:00:00
Samuell Foster	00:02:03	Isaack Reede & ffarme	
L <sup>t</sup> Fellton	00:02:06	Sam Southerick	00:01:09
Robert fuller	00:02:06	Sam Stacy	00:01:09

Jo <sup>s</sup> ffoster	00:02:00	John Stacy	00:01:09
Christopher ffoster		James Symonds	00:03:06
	00:02:03	Stephen Small	00:02:06
Eleazer Goyles	00:03:06	Miles Shafflin Estate	
Samuell Gaskin	00:03:00		00:02:06
Samuell Golethrite		Josiah Southwick	00:03:09
	00:02:00	Jo <sup>s</sup> Southwick	00:01:09
John Greene	00:04:06	Daniell Southwick	
Rob <sup>t</sup> Greenow	00:04:00		00:03:06
Sam: Gascoyne Jun <sup>r</sup>		John Small	00:03:00
	00:01:09	Jo <sup>s</sup> Sibly	00:01:09
W <sup>m</sup> Gooding	00:00:00	Thomas Tyly	00:02:03
		W <sup>m</sup> Traske	00:03:06
		John Traske	00:03:06

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Carried Over 08:06:09

[345]

Sum Brought Over		John Barny	0:01:09
e		David ffoster	0:01:09
	8:06:09	Jacob Marsh	0:01:09
John Tompkins	0:02:06		
John Trask Jun <sup>r</sup>	0:03:00		0:10:09
Peter Twist	0:01:09	To pay the Tressurer	
John Trask Man	0:01:09		8:00:09
John Verry ffarmer		To the Seleckt	} 1:10: 0
	0:03:00	Men for the	
Thomas Verry	0:02:00	Towns Use	
John Waters	0:03:00		
Henry Tresher Glover			9:10:09
	0:01:09		

[346] To Edward Puttman Constable

Daniell Andrew	00:05:00	Sum Brought Over	
John Adams	00:01:09		03:16: 0
Sam: Abby	00:01:09	James Hadlock Sen <sup>r</sup>	
John Bates	00:01:09		00:02:03
John Buckstone	00:03:00	James Hadlock Jun <sup>r</sup>	
Edw <sup>r</sup> Bishopp	00:03:00		00:02:00
Thomas Bayly	00:01:09	Thomas Haynes	00:03:00
Samuell Braybrooke		Jo <sup>s</sup> Herrick	00:03:06
	00:02:00	Benj <sup>a</sup> Houlton	00:02: 0

Giles Cory	00:01:09	Joseph Hutchinson	
Sam Cuttler	00:02:00		00:05: 0
Peter Cloyce	00:02:06	Nath <sup>a</sup> Ingarsoll	00:03: 6
Ezekiell Cheevers	00:02:03	——— Johnson	00:01: 9
Samuell Cuttler Jun <sup>r</sup>		Hugh Jones	00:02: 0
	00:01:09	Henry Kenny	00:02: 6
W <sup>m</sup> Chubb	00:01:09	Thomas Kenny	00:00: 0
Daniell Canady	00:01:09	Rob <sup>t</sup> Moulton	00:02: 6
John Durland	00:02:00	John Moulton	00:01: 9
Daniell Elliott	00:02:00	Zachariah Marsh	00:02:06
Stephen ffish	00:00:00	Anthony Needham	
Thomas fflint Sen <sup>r</sup>			00:03:00
	00:03:06	ffrancis Nurs Sen <sup>r</sup>	00:02:09
Geo: fflint	00:00:00	John Nurs	00:02:06
John fflint	00:02:00	Samuell Nurs	00:02:06
Jo <sup>s</sup> fflint	00:02:00	John Prockter	00:04: 6
Thomas ffuller Jun <sup>r</sup>		Nath <sup>a</sup> Puttnam	00:06: 0
	00:02:06	Tho: Puttnam Sen <sup>r</sup> Estate	
Benj <sup>a</sup> ffuller	00:02:06		00:06: 0
Jacob ffuller	00:02:06	John Puttnam Sen <sup>r</sup>	
Nathaniell ffellton Jun <sup>r</sup>			00:06: 0
	00:02:06	Jo <sup>s</sup> Pope	00:04: 6
John ffellton	00:03:00	Benj. Pope	00:03: 0
Sam: ffrayle	00:01:09	Jo <sup>s</sup> Porter	00:06: 0
Samuell Fuller	00:01:09	Peter Prescott	00:02: 0
Thomas Gould	00:03:09	John Pudny	00:02: 6
Zachariah Goodale		John Prescott	00:02: 6
	00:02:06	Jonathan Puttnam	
Jo <sup>s</sup> Gould	00:01:09		00:03: 6
John Harwood	00:01:09	John Puttnam Jun <sup>r</sup>	
Jo <sup>s</sup> Houlton Sen <sup>r</sup>	00:02:06		00:03: 0
Jos Houlton Jun <sup>r</sup>	00:02:00	Edward Puttnam	00:04: 0
		James Puttnam	00:02: 6
Sum Carried Over		Benj <sup>a</sup> Puttnam	00:02: 6
	03:16:00	Thomas Puttnam Jun <sup>r</sup>	
			00:04: 0

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Sum Carried over being  
9:03:06



[347]

Sum Brought Over Being	Jere Watts	0:02:00
9:03:06	Bray Willkins	0:02:00
Joshua Rea	Sam: Willkins	0:01:09
0:04:00	Thomas Willkins	0:03:00
Daniell Rea	Henry Willkins	0:01:09
0:04:00	Benj <sup>a</sup> Willkins	0:01:09
Thomas Raymond	Aron Way	0:01:09
0:03:00	W <sup>m</sup> Way	0:01:09
Joshua Rea Jun <sup>r</sup>		
0:03:00		
W <sup>m</sup> Sheldling		
0:02:06		
W <sup>m</sup> Shaw		
0:03:00		
W <sup>m</sup> Sibly		
0:03:00		
Job Swinerton		12:01:09
0:04:06		
James Smith	To pay the Tressurer	
0:02:00		
Samuell Sibly		10:13:03
0:01:09		
John Sheppard	To pay the	
0:02:00		
Richard Tree	Seleckt Men for	
0:01:09		
John Tarboll	the Towns Use	1:08:06
0:02:06		
Jonathan Wallcott		
0:03:06		
Abraham Wallcott		12:01:09
0:02:00		

[348] To y<sup>e</sup> Constables & Select Men of Salem

Essex By Vertue of an order of the Last quarter Ses-  
 O seale sions Held att Salem for this County of Essex  
 December 14<sup>th</sup> 1687

You are Required in his Majesties Name to Assess y<sup>e</sup>  
 Seaverale Inhabitants of your Town to y<sup>e</sup> Value of halfe  
 y<sup>e</sup> Last Cuntry Rate payed by your Sayd Town payable  
 In Mony or Grayn at y<sup>e</sup> prisses Sett by the Governor &  
 Councill y<sup>e</sup> Last yeare and deliver the Sd Assesments un-  
 to the Constables of your place who are a Like required to  
 Collect y<sup>e</sup> Same So as to pay itt in unto Cap<sup>t</sup> John Hig-  
 ginson at Salem or Elcewhere he Shall appoynt at or be-  
 fore the Last day of March Next Ensuing and if any  
 person or persons Refuse or Neglect to pay y<sup>e</sup> Sum which  
 in S<sup>d</sup> Assesm<sup>ts</sup> they are Rated you are to Leavy itt by  
 distress, Itt being for the payment of the Countys debts  
 and defraying S<sup>d</sup> Counteys Charges hereof you are not to  
 fayle Dated In Salem ffebruary the 7<sup>th</sup> 1687/8

Anno Regui Regis Jacobi Secundi quarto

Pr Curiaue Stephen Sewall

Vera Copio of a Warrent for Raysing y<sup>e</sup> County Rate Viz<sup>t</sup>:[349] Salem 6<sup>th</sup> May Anno 1689

It being Judged expedient by y<sup>e</sup> Councill for y<sup>e</sup> Safety of the people and Conseruation of the peace as is Signified under y<sup>e</sup> Hand of Issack Adington ||Esq|| Clearke bearing date may y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> 1689 directed to y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>ts</sup> & Selectmen of the Town of Salem (viz) that y<sup>e</sup> several Towns of this Collany dos respectively meete & Chuse one or more able & descreete person not exceiding two for one Towne To Convene at Boston on Thursday the 9<sup>th</sup> Instant at Two of y<sup>e</sup> Clock after noone fully impowred then & There to Consult advice, Joyne & give the assistance w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Councill now sitting, we y<sup>e</sup> Captaines & select men of Salem doe therefore signifie unto y<sup>e</sup> Constables of The Town of Salem that they doe accordingly give notice to y<sup>e</sup> freeholders In y<sup>e</sup> Respective Wards that they meete Together on tuesday day next y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Instant at one of y<sup>e</sup> Clock after noone at y<sup>e</sup> Vsual place of Meeting For y<sup>e</sup> end aforesaid

To m<sup>r</sup> Edward Bush Constable  
 names of Votes putt in <sup>¶</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Wallcott

Cap <sup>t</sup> Wallcott	Tho: Puttnam
L <sup>t</sup> Ingarsoll	Ben fuller Mason
Joseph Holton Sen <sup>r</sup>	Sam Braybrooke
Jo <sup>s</sup> Holton Jun <sup>r</sup>	Peter Cloyce
Henry Holton	Sam Abby
John Holton	John flint
Benj Hollton	Zara Goodale
Jo <sup>s</sup> Hutchinson Jun <sup>r</sup>	Jn <sup>o</sup> Shepperd
Bray Wilkins	Sam Sibly
Henry Wilkins	Daniell Elliott
John Willard	John Buckstone
Tho Bayly	John Tarboll
James Smith	Jon <sup>a</sup> Puttnam
Allex Osgood	James Puttnam
John Darland	Dan <sup>r</sup> Rea
Ensigne flint	

[350] M<sup>r</sup> Deliverance Parkman Constable his Ward

John Attwater	00:01:00	Brought Over	03:18:9½
John Allen	00:01:00	Robert Kitching	00:03:00
W <sup>m</sup> Brown Sen <sup>r</sup> Esq <sup>r</sup> Esta		Daniell King Jun <sup>r</sup>	
	01:07:00		00:01:04

(To be continued)

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